

# YORK IN · ENGLISH · HISTORY



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YORK IN ENGLISH HISTORY

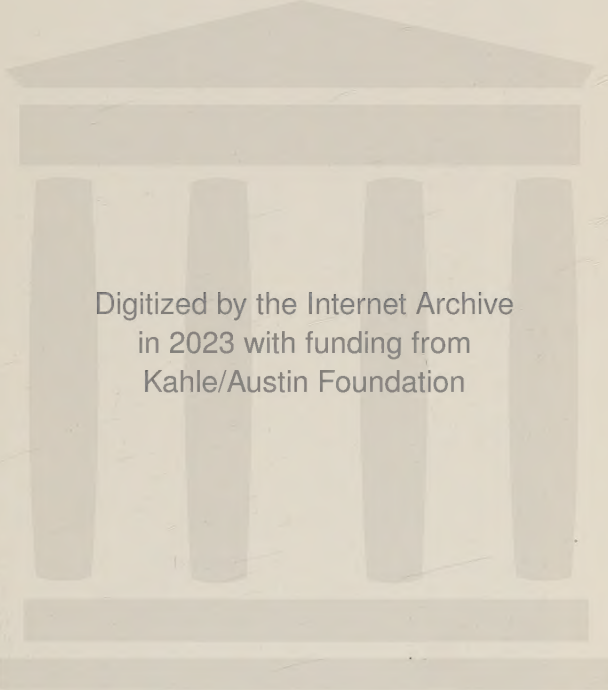
#### OFFICIAL DESCRIPTION OF THE FRONTISPIECE.

"Constantine, habited in a mourning cloak, is represented as receiving the principal military and civil authorities (among the former of whom would be the commanders of the Sixth or Victorious Legion, so long stationed at York), who bring him the sceptre, the golden orb, the laurel crown, and the imperial mantle.

"The young Prince, hesitating at first to take upon himself the burden of the Empire, is beginning to yield to the persuasions of Eroc (a German King who had come to Britain as an ally of Constantine's father), who urges him to grasp the sceptre without further delay.

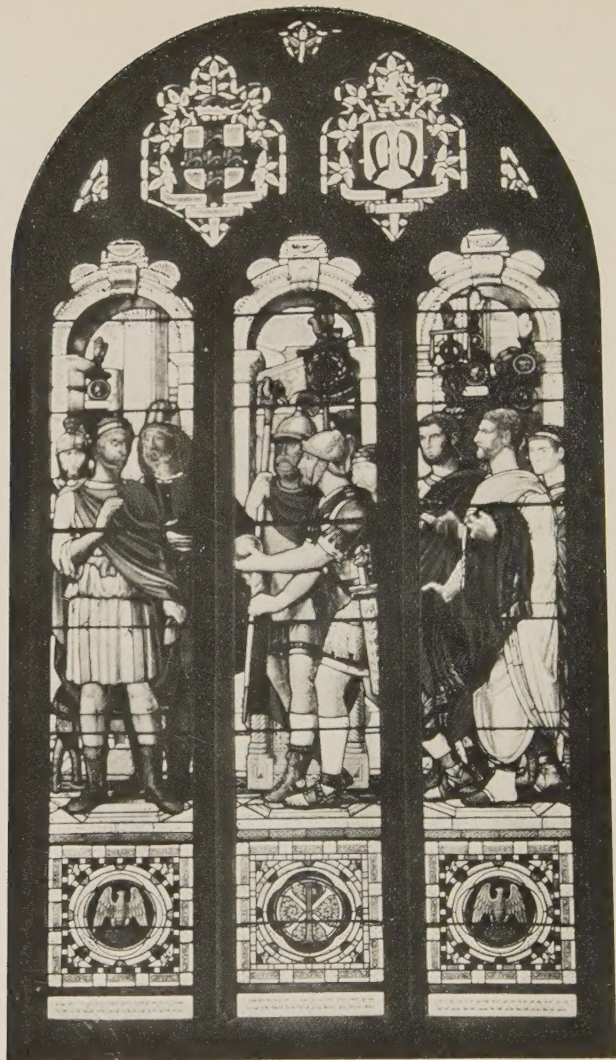
"The portrait of Constantine has been carefully studied from his coins in the British Museum.

"In the lower compartments, on each side, the Roman eagle is introduced; and, in the middle, the monogram of our Saviour, which Constantine after his conversion adopted as a device for the imperial standard."



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*Photo by]*

*W. Watson.*

WINDOW IN THE GUILDHALL REPRESENTING CONSTANTINE AS RECEIVING THE SCEPTRE, THE GOLDEN ORB, THE LAUREL CROWN, AND THE IMPERIAL MANTLE.—See Page 23.

# YORK IN ENGLISH HISTORY

BY

J. L. BROCKBANK, B.A.

AND

W. M. HOLMES



ARMS OF THE CITY AND SEE OF YORK

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## PREFACE

No apology is needed for a new presentation of the fascinating story of York. This book attempts to treat of the events connected with the ancient city in no detached or isolated fashion, but to place them in a lucid and congruous historic setting. It marks out the old-time life of York into phases more or less definite, in order to give approximate mental images of the periods severally dealt with—the type of chapter being chosen with due regard to the dominant features of the times under consideration. Throughout, the intention has been to make the sequence of matter sufficiently intelligible, by reference to principles and causes—national or even universal—at the root of the great movements in which York has played a prominent part. The standpoint of the authors, therefore, has been that of a York outlook on the national life rather than that of a strictly delimited local view.

Simplicity and clearness have been preferred to wealth of detail in the selection of matter. Much has had to be sacrificed to the pursuit of this ideal, and also to exigences of space. Copious use, however, has been made of illustrative extracts from original authorities, and many of these are new to local histories.

The Mediæval and Tudor Period of York specially lends itself to concentric treatment, and full advantage has been taken of the opportunity. With regard

to great national crises (*e.g.*, the Stuart Civil War), it has been thought well to touch somewhat at length on their fundamental issues at the risk of loss of local interest. The chapters on the Hanoverian Period are bound, from the decline of York in national importance, to be somewhat disconnected, and to be "peeps" at English life as illustrated in York rather than accounts possessing historical sequence.

York possesses a fine field of *concrete* illustrations of the incidents and life portrayed within this little volume. The pictures, verbal or otherwise, are but of feeble value compared with the knowledge and inspiration to be derived from visiting the numerous ruins, remains, and relics to which reference is made. The hope of the authors is that all who possibly can will supplement the mere perusal of what has been written by *observation*, either incidentally, when walking through the city, or, more methodically, by arranging itineraries to see the historic treasures of York.

In conclusion, the respective responsibility of the collaborators may be thus defined:—

Pre-Norman Times (Chapters I.-VIII.).

York and the Stuarts (Chapters XXV.-XXXIV.).

York in the Coaching Days. York—A County  
Borough. York Minster (Chapters XXXVI.-  
XXXVIII.). J. L. BROCKBANK.

Mediæval and Tudor York (Chapters IX.-XXIV.).

"The White Cockade" and York (Chapter XXXV.).  
W. M. HOLMES.

YORK, 1909.

# CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. EBURACH—BY THE DARK FOREST . . . . .	I
II. EBURACUM—A GREAT CAMP . . . . .	14
III. ALTERA ROMA ! ANOTHER ROME ! . . . . .	20
IV. EBURACUM—AND “THE DESTROYERS” . . . . .	29
V. EOFRERWIK—A GREAT CENTRE OF LEARNING . . . . .	35
VI. EOFRERWIK TIMES AND JUSTICE . . . . .	44
VII. JORVIK—A DANISH TOWN . . . . .	52
VIII. JORVIK AND STANFORDBRYCG . . . . .	61
IX. YORK AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST . . . . .	66
X. THE CASTLES OF YORK . . . . .	73
XI. YORK ENVIRONED BY MANORS . . . . .	81
XII. “GOD’S CASTLES IN YORK” . . . . .	88
XIII. YORK AND THE SCOTTISH RAIDERS . . . . .	97
XIV. THE YORK JEWRY . . . . .	102
XV. YORK —A MEDIÆVAL METROPOLIS . . . . .	109
XVI. ONE ENGLISH KING AND YORK . . . . .	116
XVII. PLAGUE AND PESTILENCE IN YORK . . . . .	124
XVIII. MAINLY ABOUT A YORK ARCHBISHOP . . . . .	131
XIX. YORK AND THE CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS . . . . .	136
XX. YORK AND THE RIVAL ROSES . . . . .	143
XXI. THE PAGEANT OF MEDIÆVAL YORK . . . . .	153



CHAP.	PAGE
XXII. THE TRADE AND GUILDS OF YORK . . .	166
XXIII. IN TIMES OF CHANGE—YORK TURBULENT .	176
XXIV. A POT-POURRI OF TUDOR YORK . . .	181
XXV. A ROYAL RECEPTION AT YORK . . .	191
XXVI. STIRRING TIMES FOR YORK BEGIN AGAIN .	197
XXVII. HOW THE KING'S COURT CAME TO YORK .	203
XXVIII. HOW THE KING'S COURT LEFT YORK . .	209
XXIX. YORK—A ROYALIST FORTRESS . . .	213
XXX. ROYALIST YORK AGAINST THE WEST RIDING AND HULL . . . . .	222
XXXI. THE GREAT SIEGE OF YORK . . . . .	228
XXXII. FROM YORK TO MARSTON MOOR . . .	237
XXXIII. THE “SWING OF THE PENDULUM” AT YORK .	245
XXXIV. YORK AND THE LAST OF THE STUART KINGS .	254
XXXV. “THE WHITE COCKADE” AND YORK . . .	260
XXXVI. YORK IN THE COACHING DAYS . . .	267
XXXVII. YORK—A COUNTY BOROUGH . . . .	275
XXXVIII. YORK MINSTER . . . . .	283

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

WINDOW IN THE GUILDHALL . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	PAGE
FLINT WEAPONS . . . . .	2
STONE HAMMER-AXES . . . . .	3
POTTERY FROM THE "BARROWS" ON THE YORKSHIRE WOLDS	5
A CELT AND HIS CORACLE . . . . .	8
THE MULTANGULAR TOWER . . . . .	16
PLAN SHOWING THE SITE OF THE ROMAN EBURACUM . . .	17
A COIN OF HADRIAN THE BUILDER-EMPEROR . . . . .	21
COIN OF CONSTANTINE "THE GREAT" . . . . .	23
A ROMAN TESSELATED PAVEMENT . . . . .	25
A ROMAN COFFIN IN YORK MUSEUM . . . . .	26
ROMAN ALTARS IN THE YORK MUSEUM . . . . .	27
STATUE OF A ROMAN SOLDIER IN YORK MUSEUM . . . .	31
A SAXON FONT IN YORK MUSEUM . . . . .	36
THE COMING OF THE VIKINGS . . . . .	53
UNIQUE SPECIMEN OF DANISH AXE DUG UP IN YORK . .	57
PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF STAMFORD BRIDGE . . . . .	65
BAILE HILL MOUND—THE SITE OF YORK'S FIRST CASTLE .	68
A TYPICAL NORMAN CASTLE . . . . .	75
CLIFFORD'S TOWER . . . . .	78
AN OLD SALLYPORT TO YORK CASTLE . . . . .	80
ST. MARY'S ABBEY . . . . .	91
FOUNTAINS ABBEY, NEAR RIPON—SHOWING LONELY LOCATION	93
THE KING'S MANOR HOUSE (NOW YORK SCHOOL FOR THE BLIND)	96
A MYSTERY PLAY . . . . .	137
PLAN OF THE BATTLEFIELD OF TOWTON . . . . .	149
ANCIENT LEAD HALL CHURCH (NEAR TOWTON FIELD) . .	151
MEDIÆVAL YORK . . . . .	155
MICKLEGATE BAR . . . . .	156
MONK BAR . . . . .	157

	PAGE
WALMGATE BAR (SHOWING BARBICAN) . . . . .	158
LOW OUSGATE IN 18th CENTURY (LOOKING TOWARDS BRIDGE)	159
AN OLD WATER-LANE DOWN TO THE RIVER . . . . .	159
A BIT OF OLD YORK—THE SHAMBLES . . . . .	161
ST. SAMPSON'S SQUARE (SITE OF OLD THURSDAY MARKET) .	162
OLD PAVEMENT, 1813 . . . . .	164
STOCKS IN HOLY TRINITY CHURCHYARD, MICKLEGATE . . .	165
STOCKS IN ST. LAWRENCE'S CHURCHYARD . . . . .	165
INTERIOR OF THE COURT-ROOM OF THE YORK MERCHANTS' COMPANY, 1891 . . . . .	167
THE GUILDHALL—RIVER VIEW, SHOWING OLD "STAYNEGATE."	175
CHAINED BIBLE FORMERLY IN DEMOLISHED CHURCH OF ST. CRUX, NOW IN ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, PAVEMENT . . .	176
THE LORD MAYOR ESCORTING PRINCESS MARGARET THROUGH THE STREETS OF YORK . . . . .	184
QUEEN MARGARET'S ARCHWAY AND BOOTHAM BAR . . . . .	187
ST. WILLIAM'S COLLEGE . . . . .	208
A PIKEMAN OF THE STUART PERIOD . . . . .	218
A STUART MUSKETEER . . . . .	219
SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, THE HERO OF MANY YORKSHIRE FIGHTS, AND, AFTERWARDS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ARMY . . . . .	223
ST. MARY'S TOWER (THE SCENE OF THE EXPLOSION) . . .	233
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE SIEGE OF YORK . . . . .	237
PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR . . . . .	241
SCENE OF THE PAYMENT OF £200,000 TO THE SCOTS, NOW A COMMITTEE ROOM OF THE CITY COUNCIL . . . . .	248
THE OLD OUSE BRIDGE . . . . .	268
A NIGHT WATCHMAN . . . . .	271
THE COUNCIL CHAMBER IN THE GUILDHALL . . . . .	280
THE WEST FRONT OF THE MINSTER, SHOWING THE GREAT WEST WINDOW . . . . .	287
THE WATER-AVENS. THE "BLESSED HERB" OF MÆDIEVAL TIMES . . . . .	288
THE WONDERFUL STONE CHOIR SCREEN . . . . .	289
THE CHOIR, SHOWING THE GREAT EAST WINDOW. THE SITE OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF THE ANGLES . . . . .	291



# YORK IN ENGLISH HISTORY.

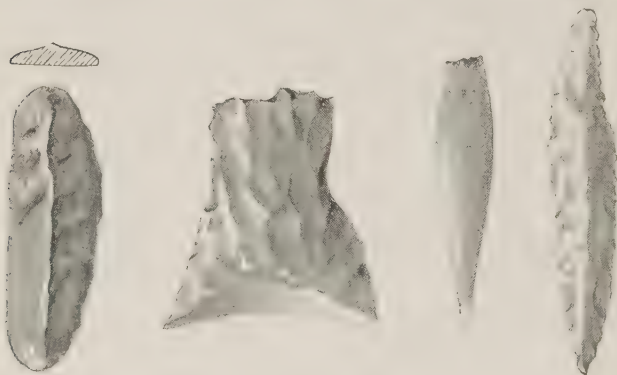
## CHAPTER I.

### EBURACH—BY THE DARK FOREST.

**Before the Christian Era.**—In the times of Kings David and Solomon there was, no doubt, near the place where the Castle now stands, a small colony of rude and primitive people, about whose ways and habits we know very little. There are numerous legends concerning those very ancient times, but we possess no knowledge about them of much historical value. We may say that we do not begin to have any certain information about Britain until the Romans invaded it; but we are sure that, for many hundreds of years before that time, the island on which we live had inhabitants, and that some of them lived where York stands to-day. Moreover, archaeologists have found, not far from this city, and also within its walls, evidence which seems to prove that people were wandering about here even in the days when human beings ate their food raw, and lived in caves and holes in the woods; and such times as these are certainly five thousand years before the birth of our Lord. We may truly say, therefore, that even if we go back to the

periods of remotest antiquity, we cannot discover a time when this place was not being visited by man.

**The Stone Age.**—One of the most important sources of information, of an indirect kind, about the earliest people who lived in what we now call Yorkshire is the discovery of the rude weapons of those primitive times. On the site of the Railway Gas Works, and along the banks of the Ouse at Overton and Naburn, numerous flint flakes and stone imple-



FLINT WEAPONS.

*Implements of the New-Stone men dug out of "Barrows" on the Yorkshire Wolds.*

ments have been found. At Fulford so many were found together as to give the impression that they must have been stored there. Perhaps they were even used as a means of barter by people who brought them from the East Riding Wolds for that purpose, because such flint as was used could not be found nearer than in the chalk hills of East Yorkshire. The people who made them are called "New-Stone men," for their stone implements were superior to



STONE HAMMER-AXES.

*Implements of the New-Stone men dug out of "Barrows" on the Yorkshire Wolds.*

those of the "Old-Stone men" or "Cave men," mentioned in the last paragraph. The York Museum contains many excellent specimens of the stone and flint weapons of those early times.

**The First Dwellers in Houses.**—It is easy to see that the New-Stone men, with their more finished stone weapons, would be able to kill or drive off the Cave men, many of whom, no doubt, would nevertheless still linger on in the darkest recesses of the immense forests of that time. The Cave men had built no houses, but the New-Stone men made dwellings of a kind, in which they lived. Can we therefore say that theirs were the first houses to be seen here? If so, we must conclude that the first settlement was made four or five thousand years before the birth of our Lord! The houses were very rude—simply rounded "wig-wams" made of logs or wicker-work. The New-Stone men also kept domestic animals, such as the dog, horse, goat, sheep, cow, and pig. It is really wonderful how early the dog became the friend of man. The Cave men had possessed, probably, none of these domesticated animals, so very likely the New-Stone men brought them over with them when they came as immigrants to this land. Great Britain and Ireland were once part of the Continent, but, when the New-Stone men first appeared, Great Britain was an island, and the immigrants would have to cross the sea in their rude log boats. We marvel at their daring, and we wonder what percentage of them were drowned in the passage.

These New-Stone men grew corn, and could make a rough kind of bread from it. They could fashion earthen pots from clay, and could even



POTTERY FROM THE "BARROWS" ON THE YORKSHIRE WOLDS.



do a little coarse weaving. They made all sorts of useful flint and stone implements, and were very skilful in giving a sharp edge to them. With such tools it would take them some considerable time to cut down a tree, but they were the first men to make clearings on this forest-tangled land, where Nature had taken her own way since the Creation. The New-Stone men had very elaborate burial customs, so we may conclude that they had some ideas of religion. They buried their great men on the tops of hills in walled stone chambers which are now called "barrows." There is a large number of these barrows upon the Yorkshire Wolds, and investigations show that tools, and perhaps food, were buried with the dead for their use in the next world.

**The Celtic Migration.**—The New-Stone men, or Iberians, as they are sometimes called, were killed or enslaved in Gaul and Spain in consequence of a great migration of men of the Celtic race who were spreading westwards. Indeed, it is from the East that all the great tribal migrations have taken place, and this great Celtic migration was by no means the first of them. Having possessed themselves of Gaul and Spain, the Celts began to migrate in large bodies into Britain. They had an easy conquest, because they were armed with bronze weapons, which were much superior to those of stone and flint. Bronze is a compound of tin and copper, and, as there was an abundant store of tin in Cornwall, perhaps this first tempted them over to conquer Britain. These Celts were comparatively civilized, and they usually gave the Iberians the choice between slavery and death. So Britain had a sort of threefold division of race

elements: the Celts as masters, the Iberians as slaves, or inhabitants of the out-of-the-way parts of the island, and the Cave men, almost exterminated or else driven far north.

**Means of Communication.**—It seems undoubted that even in these early times there must have been well-marked routes of communication from one part of the country to the other. Perhaps the Romans, later, when they made their world-famed military roads, followed the lines of the early routes of the Stone and Bronze Ages. At any rate, the stones, flints, and, later, bronze, used for weapons and implements, could only be obtained from certain parts of the country, and it was necessary for all the hunters and warriors to be provided with them. Hence our conclusion that there were at least well-trodden paths through the land.

**Eburach (?)**—We have now come to the time when the settlement of Celts, where York now stands, becomes known to us by a name—probably as long ago as eight centuries before the birth of our Lord. At such a distance of time, it is little wonder if there is great doubt as to what this first name really was. The balance of evidence seems in favour of “Eburach,” but, after all, this must be regarded as most uncertain. Some writers have interpreted the word Eburach to mean “the field at the meeting of the waters.” If we suppose that the early British settlement stood just at the place where St. George’s Fields are now, then the name Eburach, with its conjectured meaning, is very appropriate; for St. George’s Fields occupy the angle formed at the junction of the Ouse and the Foss.

**"At the Meeting of the Waters."**—If we wish to picture more or less vaguely what Eburach was like, we must begin by trying to imagine how the Ouse and the Foss would look before their sluggish streams were confined by artificial banks. No doubt there would be, alongside the water, much marshy land covered with reeds and rushes. The river would frequently overflow its low-lying and indefinite banks.



THE RIVER OUSE IN THE TIMES OF  
EBURACH. A CELT AND HIS CORACLE.

The tide would come up regularly twice a day almost to the settlement. From Eburach to the sea—that is, to the south and east—there would be a huge morass; for, obviously, the river being free to spread its waters far and wide, and the country round being low, the land would be constantly soaked.

All to the north of Eburach was one vast, dense forest of oak and pine. In later times this was called the Forest of Galtres, and some little traces of it still remain, while the names "Sutton-on-Forest" and "Stockton-on-Forest" now serve to remind us of it. In the days of Eburach it was of mighty extent and inhabited by wolves, bears, and fierce wild-boars. It was, probably, almost impassable, and while serving as a protection against human enemies from the north, it would form a good

hunting-ground for the “braves” of the settlement. Thus we get the idea of a large triangular space with the Ouse and the Foss, unrestrained, forming two sides, while on the third, stretching far to the north, was the big, tangled forest which nothing at the present day could rival, if we except, perhaps, those impenetrable forests in the Upper Amazon Basin.

**The Men of Eburach.**—The men of Eburach were mainly hunters and warriors, both by choice and of necessity. As Celts, they would certainly have to defend themselves against the original inhabitants of the land that still remained unconquered. Then, since the men of the various Celtic migrations into Britain no doubt belonged to different tribes, they would indulge in a good deal of fighting amongst themselves, as they had done before they came to their new home. Probably the tilling of the soil was left mainly to their slaves, who also looked after the cattle and drove them into enclosures at nights to protect them from the wild beasts. As for hunting, their livelihood depended on it to a great extent. Incidentally, we may wonder how, with such primitive arms—for even the best bronze weapons are but feeble hunting-implements—our ancestors could successfully attack, in their natural surroundings, those fierce and large wild animals which had their lairs in the dark forest so near the settlement of Eburach.

**Their State of Civilization.**—The men of Eburach at the time of the birth of our Lord were therefore Celts, and, no doubt, in a more advanced state of civilization than when they had first arrived in Britain. But, generally speaking, they would be considerably less civilized than the Celts of the South, to whom

continental and other visitors had more easy access. In race they were nearly the same as the Welsh of to-day, who are mainly descended from the Early Celts and the Iberians with whom they intermarried. But there are some Welshmen now, small and dark, who are said to be directly descended from the Iberians alone, as are the Basques and the Finns.

We cannot speak of the inhabitants of Eburach at the time of the Roman invasion as rude and ignorant savages; for we have seen that even the Iberians had grasped the elements of civilization, and the Celts had, no doubt, advanced somewhat farther. It seems that they had acquired the art of weaving a sort of rough cloth from wool, while, in the south, the Britons vigorously carried on the mining industry. We must acknowledge that the greater portion of the inhabitants in the north were fierce and uncivilized savages, especially those living in their mountain and forest fastnesses far away from the rough roads. But Eburach was a central settlement within easy reach of the sea, situated on a navigable river, and near one of the most important road-tracks of the time. We may therefore, perhaps, justly claim a greater measure of civilized habits for its people than Roman historians have been inclined to ascribe to the Britons living to the north of the Thames.

**Possible Visitors.**—It is related that, about five hundred years before Christ, Phœnician ships, from Tyre and Carthage in the Mediterranean Sea, reached Britain and did some trading with its inhabitants; but, probably, the men of Eburach never saw any of these strangers. It is more than likely, however, that the

Greek traders, who began to come about two hundred years later, paid Eburach a visit. The scene would resemble, in some respects, a meeting of to-day between the crew of a trading-ship and some South Sea Islanders. At first the natives would be hostile, but the Greeks were better armed than the Celts and well able to defend themselves. The men of Eburach would therefore gradually put aside this warlike attitude, and a primitive sort of barter might take place. The Celts would give hides, furs, and Iberian slaves, and perhaps receive in return glass beads, precious bronze or iron weapons, and coarse, bright-coloured cloth. For the first time the men of Eburach would see coins and hear of their use in buying and selling.

**Brigantia.**—The district comprising roughly what is now the six Northern Counties was at that time called Brigantia. Its inhabitants were, loosely, called Brigantes, but probably they were of at least two or three different kinds of people ; for, as we have seen, Brigantia, like the rest of Britain, had been settled by successive waves of immigrants. The largest and most powerful settlement was probably at Aldborough (near Borough-bridge) fifteen miles up the river Ouse from Eburach. Aldborough is the Saxon for “ old town,” and we may look upon it as having been the capital of Brigantia in those ancient days, although some maintain that Eburach itself was the capital.

**A Great Invader.**—In 55 B.C. and the year following, the great Julius Cæsar, with his celebrated Roman legions, made two invasions on the South of Britain. His avowed object was to punish the Britons for helping their relatives, the Celts of Gaul, against him. But the great Roman leader never came as far north as

Brigantia, and, when he left Britain, the whole country remained undisturbed by hostile invasions for ninety years.

**A Brave Celtic Leader.**—The best historians now-a-days ascribe most of the migrations and conquests of those times to the desire to obtain “ food-bearing ” lands. It seems that this country was, perhaps for some such reason, looked upon as a desirable acquisition to the mighty Roman Empire ; for, about A.D. 45, the conquest of Britain began in earnest. The Britons were warlike, and their mountain and forest fastnesses helped them greatly. But in arms, discipline, and the art of war, the Romans were superior to all the other nations of the world. Moreover, they were skilled in barbarian warfare, so they steadily overcame native resistance of every kind. A British chief, named Caractacus (more properly Caradoc), gave most trouble. At last he was hopelessly defeated, and, as a fugitive, sought refuge in Brigantia. The Queen of the Brigantes was Cartismandua (more properly Cartimandua), and, no doubt, she had learned a good deal about the Romans and their military prowess. At any rate, she decided that it would be better policy to give up the fugitive chief to the Roman leader, Ostorius Scapula, than to bring down on her subjects the might of the Roman legions. So, for a time, Queen Cartismandua saved her kingdom by giving up Caractacus to his conquerors, who sent him to Rome. Here he played a captive’s part in the usual “ triumph ” scene which took place on the return of the victorious Roman general from the wars. By his bold bearing and frankness he attracted the notice of the Roman Emperor, who gave him his liberty. He was, how-



ever, considered too brave and too able to be permitted to return to his beloved Britain.

**Many Divisions.**—We should bear in mind that in condemning Cartismandua, the Queen of one province, for the betrayal of Caractacus, the King of another, we must not make the common mistake of thinking of the ancient Britons as one “people” closely bound by common ties of blood and speech. They included, as we have seen, quite a number of “peoples” who had settled in Britain at various times. They certainly mostly belonged, at this period, to that great branch of the human race called Celts, but it is highly probable that one group of settlers could not even understand the language of others who had arrived at a different period.

**Brigantia Conquered.**—Twenty-five years later, in A.D. 70, it was the turn of Brigantia to struggle against the finest soldiers and the most advanced military methods in the world of that day. The Romans had determined to push their conquests northwards through the island if possible. The swamps, mountains, and trackless forests enabled the inhabitants of what is now Yorkshire to hold out in desperate resistance for five years. The Brigantes of this part showed themselves to be the most warlike of Britons, but at last they were subdued. With their submission to Roman rule a new and glorious era began for Eburach.

## CHAPTER II.

## EBURACUM—A GREAT CAMP.

**An Enlightened General.**—One of the ablest and wisest of the Roman generals who fought in Britain was Julius Agricola. It was he who really completed the long task of conquering the Brigantes; but, having done this, how was he to rule such warlike men? He adopted the best of measures: he did not attempt to keep them down by a severe system of penalties and punishments, but he determined to teach them to appreciate the comforts and refinements of the higher civilization of the Romans. The people of the Celtic race were quick to learn, and men of the more open parts of Brigantia soon began to imitate their conquerors so far as they were able. They learnt to build good, roomy, stone houses, and were soon convinced that there was a much more pleasant way of living than that they had hitherto known. They gradually lost their old desire to fight on the least provocation, and became comparatively peaceful subjects.

**Great Changes.**—In no town did such a great change take place as at Eburach. During the earlier part of the conquest of the Brigantes the Roman army had made Aldborough their headquarters. This settlement the Romans called Isurium. But Aldborough was now to be completely outshone. The Roman general, Julius Agricola, had seen the advantages of a position flanked on both sides by deep and navigable waters. He determined to fix his headquarters at Eburach.

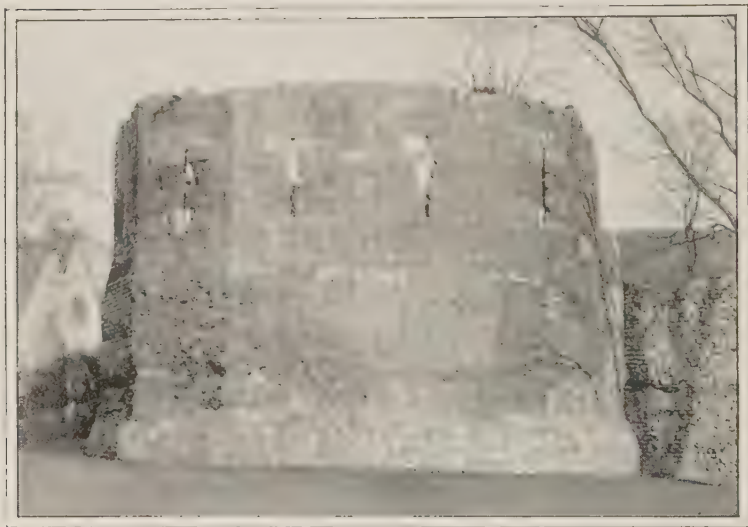
**The Camp.**—The military camp which Julius Agricola formed here about A.D. 80 was quite characteristic of the Roman occupation of a conquered country. The warlike natives had to be kept in subjection. The best way to do this was to arrange for all Roman soldiers to live together in some fortified place, from which they could march forth on punitive expeditions to any rebellious district. Within their fortified camp they could defend themselves, when a general uprising against them made this necessary.

**To keep out the Enemy.**—The camp, or barracks, was built in the form of a huge rectangle with a gate, or outlet, in each of the four sides. It was not surrounded by walls at first, but, more probably, the enclosure was made by digging a deep trench outside (like that in Lord Mayor's Walk) and throwing the earth inwards to form a rampart. The Romans called such a trench or ditch a *fossa*, and, no doubt, thought it a good name to apply also to that sluggish stream we now call the Foss. It certainly resembles one of their dug-out ditches !

**Soldiers and Skilled Workmen.**—Inside the great camp lived the Roman legion with its general and officers. A legion was not like a regiment of to-day. It was an army—and what an army ! It could fight, build walls, construct bridges, and make roads, and it could do each one of these tasks better than any other body of men in the world. It contained cavalry, foot soldiers, and engineers. Its men were prepared to march anywhere, and ready to stand against all odds.

**Nearly Twenty Centuries Old.**—Even to-day we can see some of the work of these famous Roman soldiers still standing. Here and there (*e.g.*, in Mr. Lund's

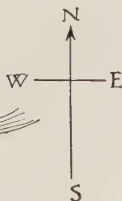
yard, near Monk Bar) are little bits of the first stone wall that they built round the Roman military headquarters at Eburac. There is even a well-preserved portion of one of the towers which they erected to protect the corners of their great rectangular camp. It is called the "Multangular" Tower because of its many



THE MULTANGULAR TOWER.

angles. It is situated in the Museum Gardens, near to the roadway. We must specially notice the part of the tower which reaches from its foundation to a height of about sixteen feet. This only is the work of the soldier-builders of the Roman legion stationed here over eighteen hundred years ago. The upper part of the tower is much more recent, but the old part is

To the Great Forest



Walls of Angles of Eoferwick to  
enclose Bishophill

DP Palace of Danish Earls of Jorvik

RRR Sites of the Roman Roads

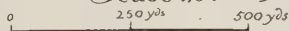
V Site of Roman Villa, TP Tessellated Pavement  
found.

B.B Sites of Roman Baths

R.B The site of the old Roman Bridge

E Perhaps the site of Eburach.

Scale in Yards



easily to be distinguished because of the peculiarly small ashlar bricks of which it is built.

**Where was Eburacum ?** Let us take the Multangular Tower as our starting point and try to follow the line of the walls of the old Roman Camp. The Multangular Tower was the north-west corner, and the wall went to the north-east as far as the bastion on the present wall in Lord Mayor's Walk. Midway between these two points comes Bootham Bar, and at this place was the principal gate of the camp. We have thus fixed one side with its outlet. Excavations at various times have shown traces of a wall leading from the Multangular Tower to Feasegate, and from there to Aldwark. If we take these two points in the present city streets as two corners of the original camp, we can form some idea of its size and location. The Multangular Tower, the bastion near Lord Mayor's Walk, Aldwark, and Feasegate mark the four corners of the huge rectangular barracks of the Roman legions.

**The Principal Street.**—On the site of Bootham Bar was the entrance to the principal street, which ran right through the camp along what is now Petergate and Stonegate. A part of this old street has actually been laid bare by digging operations. It is lying about six feet below the level of the modern roadway. The Roman legion stationed here at that time had paved and concreted it, and had made a curious channel of grooved stone right down the middle. There were also less important streets leading out from the other three gates.

**Under the Protection of a Soldier-City.**—We must remember that only military people and those con-

nected with them were allowed in the camp itself, but that outside its walls there was a large and increasing population. Especially towards what are now Skeldergate and Micklegate, there were Britons living in a style quite different from that of the early inhabitants of Eburach, and a bridge was built across the river for their use. The old, rude dwellings had been replaced by well-built stone houses. The more important of the rough roads had been made into excellent highways. Fine villa residences for the great ones had sprung up, and, above all, the people no longer lived, as it were, "with arms in their hands." They could quietly follow their peaceful occupations without fear of attack. They dwelt under the protection of that immense Roman military camp which had put an end to all petty warfare in its vicinity. British "Eburach" had become Roman "Eburacum." Both the native name and the native inhabitants of the old settlement had become Romanized!

**Untameable Marauders.**—But far to the north, in what was then called Caledonia, lived a very savage and wild race of uncivilized men. Whether they were Cave men, Iberians, or some of the less civilized Celts, we do not know. Perhaps they were a mixture of all three. At any rate they could, apparently, be neither conciliated nor conquered. If they were defeated in battle, they simply retreated to their mountain fastnesses in what are now the Scottish Highlands. They were ever ready to renew their inroads when they had an opportunity. They were continually disturbing the new Roman province and its inhabitants, the Brigantes, who were gradually giving up their warlike habits.



**Stupendous Protective Works.**—Finally, Julius Agricola, having driven the Caledonians north after a wearisome campaign, thought to keep them there by a barrier made from sea to sea. To prevent their persistent inroads a chain of forts was built by the soldiers. It stretched right across from the Firth of Forth to the Firth of Clyde. It was truly a stupendous means of protection, and must have involved enormous labour, for the distance is seventy miles. But, great as the effort was, it did not prove effective, as we shall see. The Romans were, in fact, never able to free themselves entirely from the inroads of the “wild men from the north.” During all the time that Eburacum was growing so great and magnificent, those savage Caledonians continued to give trouble, and provided the Roman soldiers with plenty of hard and dangerous work.

### CHAPTER III.

#### ALTERA ROMA ! ANOTHER ROME !

**A well-deserved Title.**—We have now come to the time when Eburacum became the temporary home of Roman Emperors. It was already a strong town and the headquarters of a Roman army. It had, in addition, become renowned as a city of Roman grandeur, and had acquired a great reputation as being the centre of a vast export trade in grain. It was, in fact, rapidly becoming second only to the “mistress of the world” herself, and was destined soon to win, and to

deserve, the proud title of "Altera Roma—another Rome!"

**An Imperial Builder.**—The Emperor Hadrian was the first Roman Emperor to visit Eburacum. He should be remembered as the "Builder-Emperor." His greatest work in Britain was his attempt, in A.D. 121, to shut out completely those troublesome Caledonians, sometimes called the Picts and Scots. It seemed useless to struggle any longer to keep those



A COIN OF HADRIAN, THE BUILDER-EMPEROR.

savages to the north of Julius Agricola's chain of forts, so the Emperor set his legions to construct a continuous, fortified wall nearer to Eburacum. He contemplated a work even more tremendous than that of Julius Agricola; for he determined to build, without any break, a barrier from the Tyne to the Solway Firth. We can hardly grasp the idea of a wall nearly twice as long as the distance from York to Scarborough, with forts all the way along it at intervals of only a few hundred yards. But Hadrian was enthusiastic about

building. In nearly every great city in his Empire, palaces, temples, and aqueducts were built by his orders, and to every legion he attached men specially skilled in architecture and masonry.

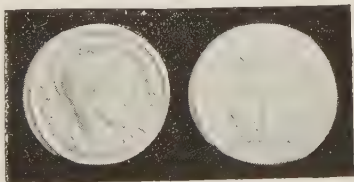
**Victorious and Faithful.**—A very celebrated Roman legion, the Sixth, was sent by Hadrian to Britain, just before he himself came. As it was stationed at Eburacum for nearly three hundred years, we should be especially interested in it. Two of its titles were *Victrix* and *Fidelis*, which mean “Victorious” and “Faithful.” This legion helped to build Hadrian’s marvellous wall, and, no doubt, also the first wall with its multangular towers round Eburacum.

**A Warlike Emperor.**—The next imperial resident at Eburacum was Severus. We may call him the “Soldier-Emperor,” for “no Emperor could boast of so many victories.” We shall therefore not be surprised that he determined to wage war against the Picts and Scots in their own mountain wilds. But, although he could defeat them and drive them before him, he gained little permanent good from his arduous campaign. Worn out by his exertions—for he was then an old man of seventy-three—he was carried back in a litter to Eburacum, and died there in A.D. 211. His body was conveyed outside the walls, and buried in the Roman manner on a hillock which was situated opposite the place where the railway yard in Poppleton Road now stands. The hillock is still called Severus Hill. Some people have supposed that it was artificially raised by the Roman soldiers for the funeral pyre of their Emperor, but it has been proved, almost conclusively, to be of natural formation.

**A Series of Unimportant Usurpers.**—We do not

know much of the history of Eburacum after the death of Severus, for many of its ruling men who lived here during the next hundred years or so were mere usurpers, of whom almost the only records remaining are coins, which have been found near York, bearing their effigies. To begin with, Caracalla, one of the sons of Severus, murdered his brother Geta, and so became Emperor. It is an interesting fact that the old Roman statue in the entrance hall of the Museum is said to be that of the murdered Geta. About the time of Caracalla the Roman Empire was becoming too unwieldy to be governed by one man, and so we hear of adventurers starting up, who tried to secure a portion of the Empire for themselves. They usually came to grief very quickly, in one way or another. In Eburacum there was quite a succession of them, for Britain was a province a long way from the Roman capital.

**A Celebrated Emperor.**—In A.D. 306 there came to the head of the Roman Empire a man who proved to be one of the most renowned of its rulers. He was Constantine the Great, the first Christian Emperor of Rome. It is almost certain that we can rightly claim that Constantine was born in Eburacum. His father, whom he succeeded as Emperor of Rome, had, at different times, spent a considerable period in Eburacum, and had, finally, died there. The young Constantine, who had some time previously joined his father at Eburacum, was at once enthusiastically



COIN OF CONSTANTINE "THE GREAT."

acclaimed by the soldiers as the next Emperor. There is a beautiful painted window in the Guildhall which represents Constantine receiving the purple mantle and other signs of imperial dignity from the soldiers of the celebrated Sixth Legion in Eburacum.

**A Splendid City.**—When Constantine the Great became Emperor at the beginning of the fourth century, Eburacum had reached the height of its glory. No city amongst the Roman province in the West could vie with it. We can perhaps picture to ourselves that square-built city, with the soldiers of the famous Sixth Legion keeping watch night and day at its four gates. We must add to our picture many a magnificent building. Temples had been erected, dedicated to Mars, the god of war, to Silvanus, the god of the woods, and to many other heathen deities. It is almost certain that St. Helen's Church is on the site of one of these temples. Palatial residences for noble Romans had been built. Theatres and amphitheatres for the displays of the actor and the gladiator were to be seen. All these beautiful structures, about which excavations in Italy have taught us much, would glorify the city and suburbs of Eburacum at that time. A special feature would be the large and beautifully-appointed baths (some remains of which have been found in Toft Green), so characteristic of all Romanized towns. Then, in all directions, stretching far away, especially to the south-west—towards Skeldergate and Micklegate—were many fine villas, beautifully built, and adorned with tessellated pavements, of which specimens are preserved in the York Museum to-day. The imperial palace would probably be the finest and most imposing building in Eburacum, but



*Photo by*

A ROMAN TESSELLATED PAVEMENT.

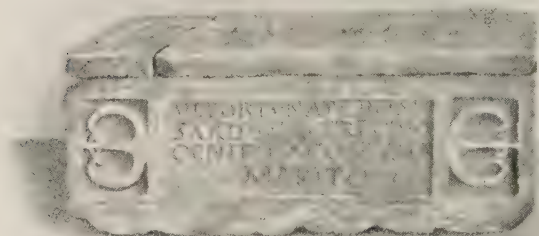
*Discovered in April 1811 adjoining the Rampart within Micklegate Bar, York.*

[W. H. Mason.]



unfortunately we do not know exactly where it was. Some historians think it was situated in what is now Bedern, but others place it in Stonegate.

**A Trying Climate.**—We have some evidence that the climate of Eburacum proved to be rather trying to those officers and men of the Roman legions who had been used to the milder temperatures of Italy and other Southern European States. We find many traces of Roman cemeteries in and about York. The ashes of



A ROMAN COFFIN IN YORK MUSEUM.

the more noble of the victims of either warfare or climatic conditions were often buried in urns alongside the great roadways. The roadway from Eburacum to Tadcaster (then called Calcaria) was particularly marked in this way, and was bordered for many miles with tombs and monuments erected to remind the passers-by of the fame of the departed.

‡ **Aldborough, the Roman Isurium.**—Perhaps the Roman officers and their families would now and then get away from busy Eburacum for short holidays, which

they might spend at some less crowded and, probably, more bracing place. Aldborough, the site of the old Celtic capital, which the Romans called Isurium, seems to have been much visited by them, and many relics of their life in that place can still be seen, especially in the old Manor House. Perhaps Isurium was to them what Harrogate is now to us; for the country was quiet enough to allow of residence at pleasure resorts whenever duty permitted, and Isurium was within easy reach of Eburacum.

**Civilized Christians and Traders.**—The Romanized Brigantes had long ceased their petty warfare with each other and with their neighbours. They now tilled the ground with more skill and system, and raised



ROMAN ALTARS IN THE YORK MUSEUM.

huge quantities of grain, so that Britain became the granary of Western Europe. The Brigantes, who had formerly worshipped their ancient gods, with Druidic rites it may be, under British, and, later, under Roman

names, now ceased to do so. Both Romans and Brigantes had embraced Christianity. Yet temples to various heathen deities still remained; for the Roman was always unwilling to offend any deity, no matter whose it might be. With progress in thought went advancement in skill, and glass and pottery manufactures were carried on successfully near Eburacum. By means of its ships the city also had a very prosperous export and import trade. British grain, of course, was the great export, while the imports mainly consisted of articles of apparel, cloth, and such comforts and luxuries as the more advanced state of civilization needed, but which the country, from either its cold climate or the lack of skill of its inhabitants, could not produce. There were no Naburn Locks then; so the effect of the tide was felt as far as Eburacum, and facilitated the coming and going of the vessels between Eburacum and the open sea.

**Evil Days.**—The departure of Constantine from our shores marks the first step of Eburacum from the pinnacle of its fame. Fifty years afterwards the Roman Empire was in confusion. Usurpers, attempting to gain the Empire for themselves, gradually deprived Britain of its defenders in order to swell their own armies. All the sea-pirates, and land-pirates too, on the watch for weakly defended countries with well-tilled lands, gathered to the spoil; for Britain was well provided with desirable things. In Eburacum during the latter half of the fourth century, the Roman soldiers left there as defenders were few in number. Yet worse was to come. Not Britain alone was in danger, but the whole Roman Empire. Once or twice help was spared from Rome to relieve the Britons.

Huge barbarian invasions, however, were threatening the Empire, and about A.D. 410 the last Roman legion was withdrawn from this land. For over fifty years the Roman defenders at Eburacum had been too few to protect the province adequately; their generals were men of little worth, for many of them had secured their posts by violence and held them only to strive for the imperial dignity. Rome was to pay the penalty for her disunion. Hordes of Teutonic invaders defeated her armies, and, swarming into Italy in A.D. 410, took and sacked the city which had so long been the “mistress of the world.” Meanwhile a helpless Britain was left a prey to the plunderers, who, for nearly a hundred years, had been increasing in numbers and boldness.

## CHAPTER IV.

### EBURACUM—AND “THE DESTROYERS.”

**A Safe Policy for the Conquerors.**—In order to understand the weakness of Britain after the Romans had left, we have only to consider their system of recruiting. Each warlike nation that they conquered had to give up its young men to be trained as Roman soldiers. These were then embodied in some legion serving in another part of the great Roman Empire. Thus men recruited from the banks of the Rhine probably formed a good proportion of the Sixth Legion stationed at Eburacum, while many young Brigantes were helping to defend the Rhine border of the Roman Empire. Thus we see that the most

warlike of each conquered race were removed from their own country, where they might have proved dangerous to their Roman masters, to a province in another part of the Roman Empire, where they certainly became very useful.

**Rich, but Disunited and Unprotected.**—Now let us try to picture Brigantia, and, of course, Britain as a whole, after the departure of the Romans. Eburacum was still looked upon as the chief bulwark of the Britons against their enemies. But the army on which the Brigantes had depended was gone. The bravest and most warlike of their men were serving abroad, and those that were left behind were quite unused to defending themselves. Besides, there was, we may be sure, very little affection between the Romanized Brigantes of the town neighbourhoods, and those who lived, with much of their primitive rudeness, in the more outlying and inaccessible parts of the country. Yet we have seen how prosperous and rich a province Brigantia had become under the Romans. Here was a fine opportunity for the daring invaders who had been trying for so long to gain a foothold where grain was plentiful.

**In Search of New Lands.**—The fifth century has been called “the time of the great barbarian invasions,” because, all along the frontiers of the Roman Empire, hordes of uncivilized foes were breaking through, while some of them, in increasingly large numbers, were crossing the North Sea to plunder the east coast of Britain. There was, in fact, a great westward movement of our own ancestors, the Teutonic race, in search of food-producing lands. We must therefore regard the coming of these barbarians to Britain as part of a much greater and continental movement.



*Photo by]*

*[IV. Watson.*

STATUE OF A ROMAN SOLDIER, SUPPOSED TO BE GETA,  
IN YORK MUSEUM.

**Securing a Foothold.**—For several years before the Romans left Britain, they had found it necessary to erect forts along the east coast, as a protection against the plundering, sea-roving Teutons. These raiders were the forerunners of the great bodies of men of that race which was eventually to overwhelm the Britons. They were chiefly Angles and Saxons from the basins of the Elbe. The special Roman officer who had been in charge of the defences of the east coast of Britain had been called the “Count of the Saxon Shore,” a title which clearly indicated who was then the chief enemy to be feared. After the Roman soldiers had gone from Britain, naturally, more pirate ships than ever came, bringing swarms of daring men. Tacitus, the great Roman historian, says of them: “They had stern, blue eyes, ruddy hair, and large, robust bodies.”

**Woe to the Conquered.**—Thus was Britain, with its advanced town-civilization, its beautiful buildings, and its fertile grain-lands, left at the mercy of land-savages from the north, and heathen pirates from the south-east. The pirates especially detested towns, and despised fine buildings and all other marks of a more civilized mode of life. Moreover, they had not the slightest tie of kindred with the Celtic race, or mercy towards its members. We read stories about the attempts of the Britons to secure the help of their invaders, the sea-pirates, against the land raiders from the north. But the cause of the Britons was hopeless. The sea-pirates fought only with one object, which was to secure the land for themselves. Eburacum, in the centre of a district at the mercy of invaders from both sea and land, was in an unenviable plight. We



can gather vaguely that Picts and Scots attacked and took it, that the sea-pirates had possession of it, and that, finally, for a time the Britons regained it. But all this part of the history of our city is dark and dreadful.

**Death and Destruction.**—The pirates who overran Brigantia were Angles. Their hypocritical alliance with the Britons was very short-lived. The Venerable Bede tells us: “Then having on a sudden entered into a league with the Picts they began to turn their weapons against their allies. Public as well as private dwellings were overturned. The prelates with the people were destroyed with fire and sword. Some, with sorrowful hearts, fled beyond the seas. Others, remaining in their own country, led a miserable life of terror and anxiety of mind among the mountains, woods and crags.”

**The Survivors.**—When the fate of Brigantia became less confused and obscure, we find that what is now the Plain of York had developed into an Anglian province, called Deira. We have the name Deirwent (Derwent), of the river that flowed through Deira, to remind us of this province. In the West, the Britons in their forests and mountain fastnesses still maintained their independence. Here and there in Deira itself, bodies of Brigantes also managed to keep for a while a somewhat precarious independence. There was, near the place where Leeds now stands, a small Celtic kingdom of Elmet, which held its own for many years. Perhaps the natives of such parts as this were more warlike and less enervated by Roman luxuries than their neighbours. Perhaps, too, the nature of the country in which they

lived helped them, or they may have had exceptionally warlike and able chiefs.

**The Place of Refuge.**—In spite of the calamities which had already overtaken Eburacum from Picts and Scots, and from pirates, it seems that it was not until the beginning of the sixth century that Eburacum became a regular settlement of the Angles. For nearly one hundred years after the Romans left Britain, it was looked upon by the Brigantes as a Celtic stronghold. They had given it the name of *Caer-Ebrauc*—"the place of safety at Eburacum." We can see the word "*Caer*" in some Welsh names now, and the meaning is the same.

**The Conquerors Quarrel with each other.**—The Angles and their relatives, the Saxons and the Jutes, founded provinces all over the country, except in the westerly and more mountainous districts. The different states soon began to fight with each other for supremacy. The Angles of Deira began a struggle with the inhabitants of the neighbouring Anglian province of Bernicia. From this sprang a notable sequel. Many little Anglian boys of Deira were captured, and sold abroad as slaves. Some were put up for sale at Rome, where there was the largest slave-market in the world. There they excited the pity of a monk, who afterwards became the celebrated Pope Gregory I.

**A Slave-Market Scene.**—The little Angles had flaxen hair, blue eyes, and fair complexions. They were very different from the swarthy Roman children and the black-haired Celts, with whom the Romans were fairly familiar, and their appearance won them great admiration. Gregory asked who they were, and, being

told they were Angles and heathens, said that if they were only Christians, they would be “Angels, not Angles,”—in his own language, “*Angeli, non Angli.*”

**Its Wonderful Sequel.**—Whether this story is true or not, it is certain that when Gregory became Pope he sent Augustine and forty monks to *Englaland*. They began their missionary work in the southern provinces. Thus, through little boys from Yorkshire, which was then called Deira, the Christianity of Rome was brought to the heathen inhabitants of England.

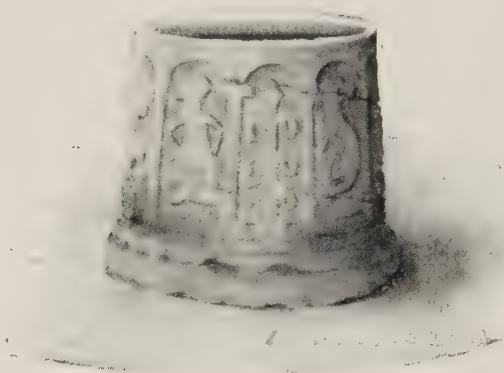
## CHAPTER V.

### EOFERWIK—A GREAT CENTRE OF LEARNING.

**About A.D. 600**—Nearly all information about Caer Ebrauc for a long time after its fall is lost, but at the beginning of the seventh century we hear of it again as the capital of an able king of the Angles, named Edwin. This monarch had gained possession of Deira and of the neighbouring province on the north, Bernicia, and had founded Edinburgh (Edwin’s Town). These two provinces he united under the name of Northumbria, which country stretched, therefore, from the Humber to the Firth of Forth. Edwin and his Angles called their capital by the Anglican name of Eoferwik, which now displaced the old Romanized name, Eburacum.

**A Despoiled City.**—Eoferwik now became the most important town in Englaland, because Northumbria was the leading power. It was said of Edwin that

“ he commanded all the nations as well of the English as of the Britons, except only the people of Kent.” But Eoferwik was not like the Eburacum of the Romans. The Angles at their first coming had destroyed nearly every trace of Roman civilization they came across, and, although Caer Ebrauc did not fall until the Angles had become a little more civilized, yet the city must have suffered considerably. Eoferwik was but a mere shadow of the magnificent Eburacum. The early Angles despised fine buildings, and hated large towns. They pulled down everything that did not suit their rude ideas.



A SAXON FONT IN YORK MUSEUM.

**A Royal Convert.**—Under King Edwin a brighter outlook for Eoferwik began. He became a Christian, and in a wooden church, built just where the Minster stands now, he and his *Witan* or “Wise Men” were baptized. This church was dedicated to St. Peter, as is the present Minster. Edwin then began to build round it a stone church, but before this was

completed, disaster overtook his kingdom, and he lost his life in battle.

**A Peaceful Kingdom.**—This good and wise King of the early Angles has been justly styled Edwin “the Great.” The Venerable Bede of Jarrow and other monks were very lavish in praise of him. He had not only joined Bernicia to Deira, but also been declared chief monarch of the Anglo-Saxons. He had made good laws and had enforced obedience to them. Bede tells us that in the time of this king, “a weak woman with her babe might have travelled over the whole island without the least molestation.” No doubt the kindly monk was too great an admirer of the king to be strictly accurate, and we must accept his account of the state of the country with reservation. Yet it is certain that the seventeen years of Edwin’s reign included a time of peace and order such as had been unknown in Britain since the departure of the Romans.

**The Work of Paulinus.**—King Edwin had married Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent, to whom Augustine and his forty monks had come. Ethelburga was a Christian, and Paulinus, a follower of Augustine, came with her from Kent to Eoferwik as her chaplain. A friend of the Venerable Bede of Jarrow describes Paulinus as “tall of stature, a little stooping, his hair black, his visage meagre, his nose slender and aquiline, his aspect both venerable and majestic.” No efforts were spared by this famous monk to convert Edwin, who, we are told, “often sat alone by himself a long time, silent as to his tongue, but deliberating in heart how he should proceed, and to which religion he should adhere.” Paulinus was, we have seen, successful in his efforts, and on Easter

Day, A.D. 627, he baptized King Edwin in the little wooden church of St. Peter at Eoferwik. We read that thousands of the Angles of Northumbria followed their King's example, and were also baptized.

**Settling in the Land.**—During Edwin's reign, the Angles of Northumbria would settle to their usual mode of living, after the long and severe struggle they had gone through in conquering the Brigantes, and in quarrelling with each other. They would put up timber houses, after their own fashion, and the leader's homestead would consist of "hall and bower, byre and barn, storehouse and stacks, horse-shed and waggon-shed." Round about the little group of buildings would be a hedge, or wall of mud or stone. There might be two or three homesteads for the yeomen or tenant-farmers, and some dozen or score of rush-thatched wattled cots for their British serfs or bondmen. The beautiful Roman villa buildings had probably been burnt down long ago in the first fierce raids, or, if not, they had been left to fall into decay; for the early Angles did not like them, although, probably, they would use from the ruins any materials they wanted.

**Only Serfs Spared.**—There were only two occupations to which these early Angles were inclined—war and agriculture, and the former for preference. It seems probable that, although all those members of the upper classes of Britons who did not flee were killed, yet the lowest were retained as serfs and tillers of the soil, as they had been for their Roman masters. In fact, the *thegn* of the Angles took the place of the Roman lord, and probably kept on his slaves. We find very few traces of the influence of these slaves on our language; but we can hardly

expect anything more, seeing the abject condition in which their masters, the Angles, kept them. All the better class of Britons had been slain, or had fled—just those who might have modified considerably the habits and speech of the Angles.

**Life round Eoferwik.**—In the fields rye, oats, barley, wheat, and beans were grown, and near the houses bees were kept. The honey was largely used in the making of mead, the favourite drink of the Angles. Bread was made in round, flat cakes, of various kinds of grain, which the women ground in hand-mills or stone-querns, and the baker was a very important person in a *thegn's* household. The Angles were great eaters, and greater drinkers. Ale and mead were brewed by nearly every household, and the Angles were habitually intemperate in the use of them.

**A Great Blow to Christianity.**—The Angles of Northumbria were quickly becoming Christianized, for the conversion of Edwin had given a great impetus to the efforts of the monks of Eoferwik. The province of Mercia, which consisted of the Midlands of England, was still in a state of savage heathendom. Both King Penda and his subjects looked with contempt and anger on the civilizing progress going on in Edwin's kingdom. They were, also, by no means contented that Edwin should be their overlord. King Penda and his Mercian army were, however, not equal to the task of invading Northumbria by themselves; but they found ready helpers among the Britons of the West. The combination of those who detested Christians and those who hated Angles served its purpose. Edwin was defeated and slain at Hatfield near the place where Doncaster now stands,



**A Short Triumph.**—One result of this disastrous battle was that the British king Cadwallon, from the West, got possession of Eoferwik. No doubt the little groups of Britons who had kept up their precarious independence here and there, in mountain or forest fastnesses, would join eagerly in the fray, to try to exterminate the Angles. It is possible that the Britons of Elmet played an important part in this struggle. Of course they would always be ready to attack the Angles when they saw a good opportunity.

**Penda, the Pagan.**—This success, however, seems to have been the last flicker of the British hopes ; for within two years Cadwallon and his army were utterly defeated, and Northumbria again began to flourish and to enjoy the advantages of peace. An able ruler, Oswald, succeeded to the throne at Eoferwik. He did his best to restore Christianity, but King Penda and his Mercians once more invaded Northumbria, and Oswald was defeated and killed. For thirteen unlucky years Eoferwik must have been again the centre of a ravaged land. Penda, although he had grown more tolerant of Christians, did not spare the neighbouring Christian Kingdom ruled over by Oswy, who had succeeded his brother Oswald. But, finally, the old pagan warrior—he was then over eighty years of age—was defeated and slain near the place where Leeds now stands, and the land had rest.

**St. Aidan.**—Now Oswald, before he became king, had for some time been an exile in the island of Iona, which was a centre of the Celtic missionaries, of whom the first was the famous Columba from Ireland. One of these missionaries, St. Aidan, came with his followers, at Oswald's request, to restore Christianity in

Northumbria. St. Aidan, following the usual practice of the Celtic Church, built a monastery on the Island of Lindisfarne as a centre for his missionary work. Thus Lindisfarne became to Northumbria what Iona had been to Scotland.

**A Religious Controversy.**—During Oswy's reign a very great controversy arose. The missionaries labouring amongst the Angles of Northumbria had come from the Island of Iona, and belonged to the Celtic Church; the Angles of the rest of the country to the south had been converted by monks of the Roman Church. There was considerable divergence in the dates on which the Christian festivals were kept by the two Churches, and also some differences in other religious matters of observance and practice. Wilfrid, the Abbot of Ripon, and James the Deacon, a follower of Paulinus, were in favour of the Roman Calendar. The Abbot of Lindisfarne and his numerous followers in the North were for the Celtic Church.

**The Synod of Whitby.**—To discuss the important question whether Northumbria should belong to the Roman or to the Celtic Church, a great synod, or meeting, of all the chief clergy was held at a town we now call Whitby, in A.D. 664. At the meeting, King Oswy came to the important decision that Northumbria, like the rest of England, should in the future follow the customs and observances of the Roman Church. This was a good thing for both Northumbria and the rest of England generally, for the supremacy of the Celtic Church in the British Isles would have cut them off from the rest of the civilized world. Practically the whole of Western Christendom looked to Rome and the Pope in religious matters, and Britain, as an

exception, would have been isolated, with disastrous effects to its prosperity and development.

**Four Holy Men.**—Eoferwik from this time became quite a centre of religion, and four of the greatest and most renowned Old English Christians lived not far away. Saint Wilfrid, who took a great part in the Whitby Synod and built the most splendid stone churches of his times, lived at Ripon. Saint Cuthbert, a man of singular piety, who delighted to preach the word of God “in the remotest and most inaccessible villages,” was Abbot of Lindisfarne. Caedmon, the religious poet of the Angles, was attached to the monastery of Whitby, near which a monument to him now stands. The fourth was the celebrated Bede from whose writings we have already quoted. He remained a simple monk at Jarrow, and devoted his long life to learning and teaching. He left no less than thirty-seven works, and it is from his “Ecclesiastical History” that we can learn so much about the Angles at the time of their conversion. After he died, in A.D. 735, there was for some years no historian to keep for us a record of contemporary events.

**Alcuin.**—In the same year that Bede died, Alcuin, the great scholar and teacher, was born in Eoferwik, where a fine school had just been founded. Alcuin became first the most celebrated scholar at that school, and then its most famous teacher. In connection therewith grew up a splendid library. The fame of the school and of its library spread throughout the civilized world. Pupils from all parts of the British Isles, and even from the Continent, were proud to be permitted to come to this institution to be educated. The building is said to have been situated on a portion

of the site of the present Minster. Although St. Peter's School has not been built on the same site, yet it is a direct descendant of this celebrated school of Alcuin. Its origin, however, is traced to a still earlier institution, and it can thereby claim a more ancient foundation than any other school in England.

**An Emperor's Appreciation.**—But the labours of Alcuin were not to be confined to his school at Eoferwik. The greatest King in the world at that time was anxious to secure his services. This was Karl the Great, or Charlemagne, as he is usually called, who ruled over practically the whole of Western Christendom. He was a great patron of learning, and one of his dearest ambitions was to found in different parts of his Empire schools like the one at Eoferwik. So Alcuin became the great King's educational adviser, and thus the influence of the school and the system of teaching at Eoferwik was carried far and wide throughout the civilized world.

**A City of the Learned.**—There was in Eoferwik—that city of learned men—at least one magnificent church, or *monasterium*, as Alcuin called it. We do not know exactly where it was. Some historians place it on the site of the present Minster, but others conjecture that it was situated in what is now the Micklegate district. The fact that the rising ground across the river obtained the rather significant name of Bishophill perhaps indicates that the church and residence of the Bishop of York were placed there. At any rate, the ancient Roman walls of Eburacum were extended by the Angles of Eoferwik so as to enclose and protect that part.

We see, then, that, just as Eburacum in the fourth century was famous for its magnificence as a second Rome, so, in the eighth century, after a long and troublous period, it rose again to eminence, and was renowned throughout Christendom as Eofer-wik—a centre of learning and religious life.

## CHAPTER VI.

### EOFERWIK TIMES AND JUSTICE.

**Eoferwik Surrounded by “Townships.”**—Soaked morasses, rugged mountains, and impenetrable forest comprised a large portion of the total area of Northumbria, of which Eoferwik was the capital. The forest of Elmet, between the Wharfe and the Aire, and a great waste of marshes round the Humber naturally separated Northumbria from Mercia. And so it was with the seven kingdoms into which England was divided in the seventh century: each kingdom was defined, as it were, by the lie of the country. In Northumbria, cultivated land would consist of little more than a comparatively narrow strip along the east coast from the Forth to the Tees, together with the plain of the Yorkshire Ouse. In the midst of this plain, which contained the greatest tract of cultivated land, Eoferwik was situated, surrounded by the very scattered and small “townships” of the Angles, placed here and there wherever the land was under tillage.

**The Town-Moot.**—A “township” might have been

formed by the settlement of a leader and his group of followers, or else by a little community of kindred freemen. It was so called because it was surrounded by a *tūn*, or quickset hedge. The same word "town" or "ton" is in common use to-day. Each of these little settlements usually managed its own affairs, and all its inhabitants who were "freemen" met together for this purpose in the "town-moot," or town-meeting. When the British Parliament in 1894 granted to small parishes the right to settle their own little affairs in their parish-meetings, they were only reviving an English institution, which was in existence many centuries ago.

**The Wapentake.**—These little settlements were also grouped so that there might be a general "moot" if some question arose of more importance than one township could deal with. This was called the "hundred-moot," perhaps because the townships concerned could supply about one hundred warriors to the *fyrð*, or militia of the kingdom. In the district round Eoferwik, these "hundreds" were, a little later, in Danish times, called "wapentakes," which name is really "weapon-takes," thus showing the military basis of the division.

**The Shire-Moot.**—Above all these "moots" came the "Shire-moot," probably held at Eoferwik, where the King of Northumbria lived. This moot was held twice a year, and was summoned by the "shire-reeve," whose title is the ancient form of our word "sheriff." In all criminal trials the decision of the shire-moot was final, and, no doubt, many cases, which could not be disposed of by the hundred-moot, would be brought to Eoferwik, just as

now-a-days criminals from the local police courts are brought to York Assizes.

**The Early Angles.**—The Angles, when they first arrived in this country, consisted, broadly speaking, of two main classes of freemen, those of noble birth, and those not of noble birth. The former were known as *eorls* or *athelings*, and the latter as *ccorls*.

**Society in and around Eoferwik.**—New distinctions, however, arose after the Angles had settled down, as they did, in Edwin's reign, round about Eoferwik. The *ccorls* were proud to be attached to the service of some great *eorl*, to whom they would act partly as companions and partly as servants. Such *ccorls* were called *thegns*, a name which originally meant "servants." The *eorls* had also become divided into three classes, *athelings*—a title reserved for the son or brother of the king—*caldormen* or chief *corls*, and ordinary *corls*. Each class had its *thegns*, but, of course, the king's *thegns* took precedence of the *caldorman's thegns*, who, in their turn, took precedence of the *eorl's thegns*. The *thegns*, holding a social position between *corls* and *ccorls*, developed into the "gentlemen" of the Angles.

**The Land.**—The conquered land on which the Angles had settled was divided usually into two main portions, namely, "alod" and "folkland." Of course there was a very large amount of waste land, which was neither cleared nor cultivable. "Alod" land was that which had been assigned by the king or chief either to some particular *eorl* and his men or else to a group of free *ccorls*. "Folkland" was that which had been appropriated and cultivated by individuals in a community, without any other right than that of common



consent, or consent of the *folc*. Over this "folkland," as well as over the people who lived on it and cultivated it, the king had political rights. He might, and did, call on the inhabitants to pay certain dues and tolls. He could, however, with the consent of his *Witan*, or "Wise Men," make a grant of his rights over portions of this folkland to others. In this way some Angle of noble birth might become the overlord of a considerable portion of folkland. Such a gift from the king had always to be accompanied by a title-deed, which was written out formally, and was called a *boc*. Land obtained and held on these conditions was therefore called *boc-land* or "book-land." From this early system, the principles underlying all our present-day ownership and tenure of land have developed.

**A Short List of Penal Offences.**—Our forefathers round Eoferwik were very rude and rough men, especially in the early days of their settlement. Their list of penal offences was not very great, and the life in their little townships would be of a very simple and primitive kind. Still there was a well-enforced system of punishment to deter them from injuring each other bodily, or stealing their neighbour's cattle. If they did these things they were brought before their hundred-moot; then perhaps, in more serious cases, they had to come to Eoferwik, to the great shire-moot.

**An Outlaw.**—Suppose Wulf accused Gurth of murdering his (Wulf's) brother, whom we may call Hogge. Now Wulf's nature would tempt him to gather together his kindred and make short work of Gurth, as well as of any who supported him. This would lead to a feud, which might cost the lives of many men, besides making

the whole country-side a scene of turbulence and disorder. Obviously, the best course was to provide some means by which Wulf and his kindred might obtain redress. Hence, in the first place, Gurth's relatives had to swear to produce him on a certain appointed day, so that he might undergo a trial, and, if found guilty, suffer punishment. If Gurth failed to appear on the day appointed, he was declared an "outlaw," that is, he was outside the pale of the law. The State refused to protect him, and any one might kill him how and when he could, without fear of punishment. Unless, therefore, Gurth went far away into exile, Wulf and his kindred would cheerfully hunt him out, and slay him without compunction; for such was the barbarous spirit of the times.

**The Shire-Moot Day.**—We will, however, suppose that Gurth has appeared before the shire-moot at Eoferwik. On such an occasion Eoferwik will be fairly crowded; for the relatives and partisans of Wulf and of Gurth will be there in full force, and, of course, similar groups will be there to support the accusers and the accused in other cases which may have to come before the shire-moot for decision. But, on ordinary occasions, Eoferwik would be a comparatively empty town, a great contrast to what it was when called Eburacum. It is doubtful if, during Edwin's time, Eoferwik contained more than two or three thousand people. It was too early for the Angles to have become used to living together in big numbers; in those days, as a rule, they detested stone walls and large collections of houses.

**Guilty or Not Guilty?**—However, Gurth is now to

be tried for his alleged crime, and, as we are supposing that he has not been "taken in the act," the first thing for the "court" to do is to find out whether he is guilty or not guilty. King Edwin will, no doubt, preside over the shire-moot, but, in his absence, the chief *caldorman* will do so. Gurth and Wulf have each had the option of bringing with them twelve "compurgators," or "swearers to character." It is quite possible, therefore, that Wulf, who swears that Gurth has committed the crime, has brought twelve men, who will take an oath that he, Wulf, is a man whose word is to be relied on. But then it is equally possible that Gurth, while swearing his own innocence, has also got twelve men, equally strenuous in testifying to his character as a truth-teller. How, then, is the matter to be decided? All depends, as we shall see, on the rank of the friends whom Gurth and Wulf have brought to the shire-moot!

**The Power of Land-owners.**—We have mentioned that the head of a district was called the *caldorman*. This term really means "elderman," because, among the Angles originally, each tribal group was ruled by the patriarch of that group. The *caldorman* was, however, at this period of history, not necessarily an old man. His chief characteristic was that he had the most land; and, on this basis, his word was more valuable than that of anyone else, excluding, of course, the king and the *athelings*. So it was down the scale of society—*eorls*, *thegns*, *ceorls*, all were classified on a basis of land property. We have seen how the *thegn* got his title; but, later on, any *ceorl* could become a *thegn* if he possessed five "hides" of land. In fact, the rule of our forefathers, the Angles, was, "the greater your landed property, the

greater your importance." If a man had no land he was of no importance. But he might in those days be even worse off than this. He might belong to the class of serfs, slaves, or thralls, who owned nothing, not even freedom—who could be bought and sold at their lord's will.

**Friend-values.**—We can now, in the fashion of these early Angles, discuss the relative values of the oaths of Gurth's and Wulf's supporters. The oath of a prominent *thegn* was worth the oaths of twelve *ceorls*, while the support of an *caldorman* was worth that of six *thegns*. It remained then for the Court to find the balance of oath-values, and adjudge the verdict accordingly!

**Methods of Barbarism.**—We are not sure how these early forefathers of ours acted in cases where a person accused of a crime against the community had such a bad character, that he could not induce the necessary number of "compurgators" to swear to his truthfulness. It has been alleged against them that they compelled him to testify to his innocence by a very painful process called the "ordeal." He might have to carry a red-hot bar in his bare hand for three paces, or to plunge his bare arm into boiling water, or to walk blind-fold over red-hot ploughshares. Then, if at the end of three days he showed no wound, he was held to be innocent! But these barbarous practices are not proved to have been the normal procedure of the early and primitive English law-courts.

**The Penal Tariff.**—We must now consider what would happen to an accused person who was found guilty. Well, his punishment would depend on whom

he had injured! Our forefathers loved liberty so much that in those early days no criminal was imprisoned. Every offence had its *wīte*, or fine to be paid to the State, and a *wer*, or compensation to be paid to the injured man or his kindred. Wounding a *thegn* cost six times as much as wounding an ordinary *ceorl*. Gurth, if considered guilty, would have to pay a *wīte* and a *wer* corresponding to the rank of Hogge, whom he had killed. In fact, the very early law of the Angles was almost a sort of price-list, in which various injuries had as it were a tariff; and the higher the rank of the injured, the higher the fines. Murder and injury to the face were punished with especial severity.

**The "Truth-Tellers."**—A very interesting side-light is thrown on the life of these times by a consideration of the duties of a class of men whom we may reasonably call the professional "truth-tellers." In and around Eoferwik there would be many bargains and sales of cattle and other properties, but practically nobody, except the monks, could read or write. Thus, without special provision, there would be no record of such transactions, and it would be open to the unscrupulous to deny, when it suited them, anything which it might prove inconvenient to remember. But it was arranged that one or more of these "truth-tellers" should be present at every important bargain, and it was their duty to say what really happened on these occasions. On the oaths of these men disputes which arose about such verbal agreements were settled. In the reign of the great Saxon king, Edgar the Peaceful, who began to rule at the beginning of the ninth century, and who is the first sovereign regarded as having been king

of a united England, the numbers of the "truth-tellers" were definitely settled by law. Edgar ordered that they should be men "known to be unlying," and that there should be thirty-three such men in each *burh*; so this is probably the number that Eoferwik had. In this way, perhaps, we may say that the business of our present day "notaries" began. An interesting window (No. 2), in the Guildhall, shows King Edgar the Peaceful granting permission at Eoferwik to the "men of the north" to make their own laws, in return for their promise of allegiance to him.

## CHAPTER VII.

### JORVIK—A DANISH TOWN.

**Names Ending in "Wick."**—About the beginning of the ninth century, another wave of plunderers began to make inroads on our coasts, just as the Angles had done nearly four centuries previously. We have seen that the heathen Angles had dispossessed the Britons, and had become Christians and civilized inhabitants of this land. They had now in their turn to struggle against heathen invaders. These new plunderers came in long narrow ships, sometimes in large fleets of two or three hundred vessels, but more often in small parties. Their ships drew very little water, and so could go far up the rivers and creeks. Sometimes they lived, through the winter, close to their ships in some creek or *vik*,\* and so were called *vik-ings*,\* that is "those of the creeks." There are places now, not

\* Pronounced *wick* and *wickings* respectively.

far from York, whose names end in “wick,” to remind us of these times. Such are Earswick and Osbaldwick, but there are many others in Yorkshire, situated for the most part on rivers and creeks nearer the sea. It should be borne in mind that England was not the only country they plundered. The movement was a widespread one, and the Angles received only a share



THE COMING OF THE VIK-INGS.

of the unwelcome attentions which the plunderers were paying to every country that bordered the Western and Mediterranean Seas.

**The “Burhs.”**—Scattered up and down England were many clusters of houses, each surrounded by a wall or other kind of palisade, so as to leave a good space of open ground inside. A place thus protected was called a *burh*, and numerous examples of this word as



a name-ending still exist. We have, not far from York, Knaresborough, Bilbrough, Beningbrough, Aldborough (the old *burh*), and Scarborough. When the Angles of any locality were invaded, they had two courses open, either to fight or to shut themselves up with their cattle and other belongings in a *burh* until the danger was past. These *burhs* are often mentioned as "places of shelter" in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, which are a sort of written history of the times kept by the monks. Thus Scarborough is the *burh* on the Scar, and Beningbrough is the *burh* in which the Benings sheltered.

**Invaders and Invaded.**—"The Plunderers" were really relatives of the Angles, and, like them, came from across the North Sea; but they lived farther to the north than the Angles had done. They probably had their homes in what are now the countries of Denmark and Norway, from which circumstance they are often styled Northmen, or Norsemen, or, more frequently, Danes. Thus they were akin to those whom they were plundering in England, and not of quite a different race, as the Angles and the Britons had been. It is easy to understand, therefore, that eventually Angles and Northmen might become friends and live peaceably in the same country, side by side, although the Angles and Britons had never done so.

**The Northumbrian Monasteries.**—As the Northmen began to come in greater numbers, they became bolder. One thing particularly had enraged them. The Angles had become Christians and had forsaken the old heathen gods which the Northmen still loved and worshipped. The monasteries, containing, as they did, much material for plunder, and being the centres of

the hated Christian religion, would therefore be the special objects of the attacks of the Northmen. And woe betide the monasteries which fell into their hands! The priests and other inhabitants were slain without mercy, indeed often with the utmost barbarity. All portable spoil was carried off, and the buildings reduced to ashes. Such was the fate of the celebrated monasteries of Jarrow and Lindisfarne. No wonder the peaceful monks and learned men of Eoferwik trembled to hear of the dread doings going on around them.

**The Fall of Eoferwik.**—The smaller *burhs*, especially those near the sea or on navigable rivers, would soon have to submit to the Northmen. The stronger ones, and those farther inland, would only be taken after pitched battles in which men equipped with swords, battle-axes, and shields fought hand to hand. From time to time the Angles of Northumbria would in desperation gather an army to try and check the foe; but the supply of Northmen from across the sea appeared inexhaustible. Moreover, Northumbrians were no longer united under one king. Eoferwik, however, was not successfully attacked for many years. At length quarrels amongst the Angles gave the Northmen their opportunity. There were two rivals for the overlordship of Northumbria, and one of them may have called in the help of the Northmen. At any rate, the other, who ruled over Deira, the province round Eoferwik, found himself in a desperate position. The Northmen, delighted to take all the advantage they could of the distracted state of the country, came up the Ouse in large numbers, and the King of Deira was defeated and slain. About the same

time, A.D. 867, Eoferwik fell into their hands, and the details of its history become dark and uncertain, as in the early days of the Anglian invasion.

**Jorvik** (pronounced *Yorwik*)—When we next hear of Eoferwik it has become a Danish town. Most of its citizens are Danes, and its name has been changed to Jorvik. A big struggle has been going on between Alfred the Great, king of the Saxons in the South, and the great Danish leader, Guthrum. In A.D. 878 Alfred defeated Guthrum. The two leaders then agreed to divide the kingdom, and to live in peace with each other. About the same time Guthrum was baptized, and became a Christian. A legend says that the ceremony took place in Jorvik. We have now-a-days a reminder of this great Danish leader in the street named Goodramgate (Guthrum-gate). All the north part of Engaland became *Danelagh*, that is, land in which Danish law and customs held sway.

**Danish Colonists round Jorvik.**—The Danes of Northumbria, who had, at first, been attracted by its rich churches and monasteries, soon settled down as colonists in the land they had ravaged. The old Anglian province of Deira was more thickly peopled by these Danes than other parts of the country. Wherever we see the place-name terminations “by” and “thorpe,” we may be almost sure that Northmen once had settlements. Near York we have to-day Haxby, Kexby, Bishopthorpe, Layerthorpe, Towthorpe, Middlethorpe, and many others. The Yorkshire dialect, and especially the vocabulary of the farm-yard, is full of Norse terms ; but, as the language of the Northmen closely resembled that of the Angles, it is not always easy to distinguish between words of Anglian and those of

Norse origin. Such words as plough, root, dairy, loft, and kid, in connection with farming, are certainly Danish. There are also many North-countrymen who still use such terms as flit (to go away), gab (talk), neave (fist), gar (to make or to cause), greet (to weep), and many others of a similar Danish origin. When York was called Jorvik, Danes and Angles in what is now Yorkshire freely intermarried. Their descendants show many characteristics, derived from Norse ancestors, which we do not find in those South-



*Photo by]*

*[W. Watson.*

UNIQUE SPECIMEN OF DANISH AXE DUG UP IN YORK,  
AND NOW IN YORK MUSEUM.

countrymen whose English forefathers lived outside the limits of the Danish settlements.

**The "Gates" of Jorvik.**—In York itself, we have only to consider how many Danish street-names we still possess to see the numerous traces the Danes have left us of their occupation of this place. *Gata* was the Danish for "street," so every name ending in "gate" shows thereby the effect of Danish influence. Micklegate (the great street), Fossgate, Ousegate, Castlegate and many others are examples.

**Little Advancement.**—It was unfortunate for the cause of progress that the Danish invasion fell most severely on those who had been doing most for civilization, that is, on the Northumbrians, who had the greatest number of monasteries. In addition to this there were two reasons why this country could not make much real advancement during the tenth century. First, both Angles and Danes, in turn, attempted to secure sole control, and, secondly, new hordes of Danes arrived from time to time.

**A Noble Institution Founded.**—In the reign of Athelstan, the grandson of Alfred the Great, and a famous king of the Saxons of the South, there was a great combination of Danes, Celts, and Scots to conquer the whole of Engaland. But Athelstan marched northwards and utterly defeated them at Brunanburh, wherever that may have been, in A.D. 937. After the battle Athelstan stopped at Jorvik to destroy the strong Danish “mound-fortress” there. He also offered praise to God for his victory, and, as a thanksgiving, founded St. Peter’s Hospital where the Theatre Royal now stands. St. Peter’s Hospital was an establishment of monks, who devoted their lives to works of healing, hospitality, and benevolence. We cannot help thinking that, during those times of strife and bloodshed, this institution must have done a great and noble work amongst the many houseless and starving people. Fortunately, also, it had a large income with which to carry on its good work; for all the districts which are now known as Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland were compelled to contribute generously to its support.

**The Jarl** (pronounced *Yarl*).—At the beginning of the eleventh century the Angles lost their supremacy. Sweyn, a Danish ruler, with a huge fleet, invaded this country, and, with the help of the Danish settlers in England, finally became its king. Under the Danish sovereigns of England, Northumbria formed a great northern *Jarldom*, and its *Jarl* lived in Jorvik. He had his palace on a plot of higher ground, called Galman-ho, just outside the city walls, and somewhere within the space now enclosed as the Museum Gardens. The *Jarl's burh* was large and strong, and was surrounded by a mound-wall. There is an "Earlsborough Terrace" now, not far from this site, which may serve to remind us of the original stronghold. Living within this fortified palace were also the *Jarl's* special body-guard and servants, called his *hūs-carls*. The street leading to the kingly residence acquired the name of Konyng Street (now Coney Street) which means "King's Way."

**The Greatest Jorvik Jarl.**—The most famous of the Danish *Jarls* who lived at Jorvik was Siward. It was he who successfully led an army against a usurper of the throne of Scotland, an incident immortalized in Shakespeare's celebrated tragedy of "Macbeth." He was the eighth of the *Jarls* of Northumbria, all of whom had lived at Jorvik. All had been fighters, but Siward was the greatest of them. Even when dying he insisted on being clothed in his armour and helmet, and propped upright in his bed, with his great battle-axe in his hand. So he died, as he had lived, in war-harness. He was buried in the church he had himself caused to be built and dedicated to the great Norwegian Saint—St. Olaf. On the same site William

Rufus afterwards built St. Mary's Abbey. The Church of St. Olave, now situated near this place, reminds us of the original building.

**Eoferwik and Jorvik—a Contrast.**—We may well pause here to consider the contrast between Eoferwik, “the great centre of religious learning” at the beginning of the eighth century, and Jorvik, a town with Danish fighting-men for its masters, at the death of old Siward in A.D. 1055. Between these times had been a period of destruction, bloodshed, and disorder. The city of monks, and students with grave mien, had become the stronghold of a warlike ruler with riotous and turbulent followers. There was little opportunity of a quiet religious life in Jorvik. There was doubtless peace within the precincts of such monastic establishments as had been rebuilt since the Danes had become Christians; but it was such peace as is obtained by strong walls, stout doors, and the protection of a friendly and able earl. The streets of Jorvik were no longer the resort of the scholar—the times of Alcuin were long past. Eoferwik had been a place to which men looked for the lead in matters of learning and religion; Jorvik was a dangerous centre of strife and insurrection.



## CHAPTER VIII.

## JORVIK AND STANFORDBRYCG.

**Tostig comes to Jorvik.**—At the time of Siward's death in Jorvik, the most powerful noble in England was Harold, the second son of Earl Godwin, who had succeeded his father as Earl of Wessex. Harold's ambition was to obtain an earldom for each of his three brothers, in order that, eventually, almost the whole country should be under the control of the Godwin family. Siward had left a young son only, so here was Harold's chance to begin by securing Northumbria for his brother Tostig, at the expense of the little boy Waltheof.

**His Rule.**—Unfortunately for the ultimate success of the Godwin family, the Northumbrians could not bear Tostig's rule. He had not the necessary tact and skill to keep its rude inhabitants in order, so he resorted to cruel repressive measures, at the same time extorting as much wealth as he could.

**Fighting at Jorvik.**—After enduring the tyranny of Tostig for ten years, the thanes of Northumbria took advantage of his absence, on a visit to the Court of King Edward the Confessor, to hold a meeting at Jorvik. At this meeting they outlawed Tostig, and chose in his stead Morcar, the younger son of the Earl of the East Angles. Then they made an assault on Tostig's fortified residence, which was bravely, but vainly, defended by his *hūs-carls*. An Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that the Northumbrians "slew all his household men—all that they might come at, as well

English as Danish; they took all his weapons at Jorvik, and gold and silver." Then, with a great host, they went southward, and King Edward and Harold had to consent to the deposition of Tostig and the election of Morcar.

**The New King.**—Soon after this, Edward the Confessor died, and Harold, the great Earl of Wessex, was chosen by the *Witenagemōt* to be King of England. But Mercia or Middle England, and Northumbria or Northern England, were held by two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, of the house of Leofric, a family that had always opposed the pretensions of the house of Godwin. So Harold's first step was to come to Jorvik to gain the support of the Northumbrians, and then to make friends with Edwin and Morcar by marrying their sister.

**Sailing up the Ouse.**—All this time the outlawed Tostig was going from one foreign court to another, trying to obtain help. The spirit of revenge had entered into his soul, and when at last he found a ruler who was, on his own account, preparing a great invasion of this country, he gladly joined him. This was Harold Hardrada, the king of Norway, who had collected under his banner adventurers from every Scandinavian land. With a great fleet they came across the North Sea, burned Scarborough, and then sailed up the Humber. The fleet of Morcar, the Earl of Northumbria, and of his brother Edwin, retired up the Wharfe to Tadcaster, so the Northmen brought their vessels up to Riccall, where they guarded the junction of the Wharfe and the Ouse. Then they landed and marched towards Jorvik.

**Fulford.**—When the invaders reached Fulford, an

army of Northumbrians, under the brother Earls, attacked them; but it was defeated with great slaughter on Wednesday, September 20th, 1066, and the way to Jorvik was then open. In the south, King Harold Godwinson had heard of the great invasion, but, in spite of his hurry northwards, Jorvik surrendered the day before he arrived, and the great army of Norwegians retreated to Stamford Bridge to wait for him there.

**Stanfordbrycg.**—At Stanfordbrycg, Harold Hardrada and Tostig could place their army on a ridge of low hills, with an unfordable river defending their front. This was an excellent position, but most historians think that the great host of invaders had retired there chiefly for another reason—that near by was an immense store of wheat with which the mighty army could be fed. In the eleventh century the people did not pay taxes in money, but in grain and other productions. It was near Stanfordbrycg that these accumulated “taxes” for the district had been stored.

**The Invaders are Defeated.**—Harold Godwinson did not wait an instant at Jorvik, but pushed onward over the remaining eight miles to Stanford. There his army was forced to come to a standstill; for there was but one narrow wooden bridge over the river Derwent, which was guarded, so the story says, by a huge Norwegian giant. This mighty champion for a long time slew all that came against him. At last a man, floating under the bridge in a small tub, struck at the giant from underneath. Then the army of Harold Godwinson pushed across the river, and the battle became more general. The fighting was terrible, and

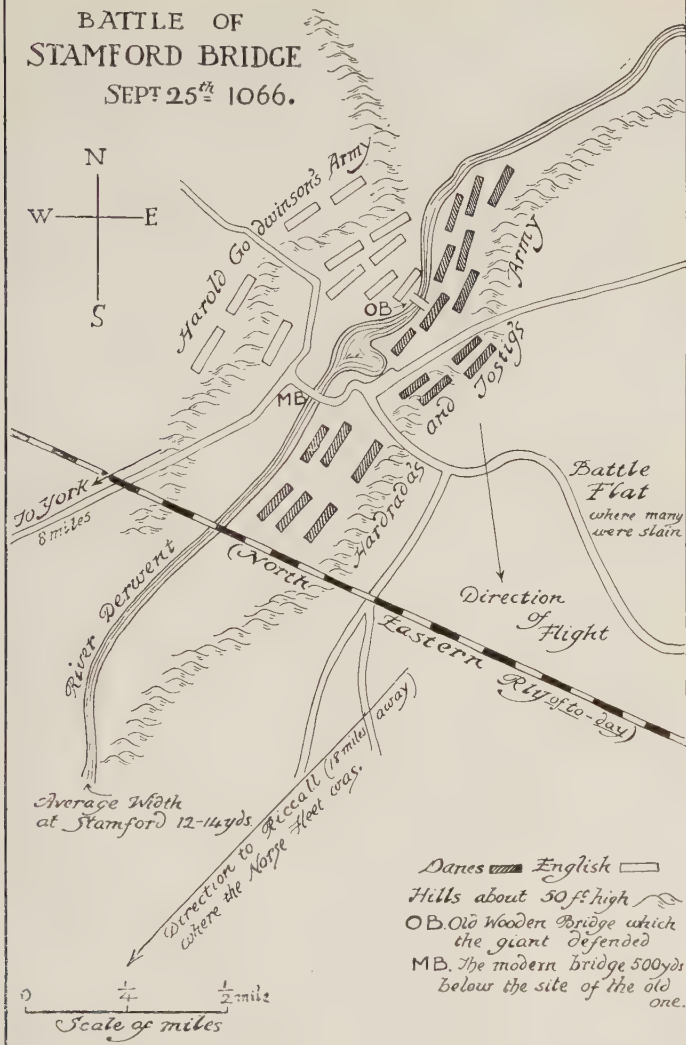
very equal for some time. At length the superior tactics of Harold Godwinson won the day, and the Norsemen began a retreat towards their ships. They had a long way to go, and the dead bodies of hundreds of men were scattered about the fields all the way to Riccall. A great number, also, of Norwegians were drowned in crossing the river Derwent. Then the English, having set the fleet at Riccall on fire, completed the discomfiture of the invaders. Twenty ships were sufficient to take home the survivors of the great Norwegian army, which, at its coming, had filled over five hundred vessels. All the spoils that the invaders had collected Harold Godwinson's army recovered. "There was such a mass of gold," says an old historian, "that twelve lusty young men could hardly carry it on their backs." These treasures, however, did not return to their original owners, we fear. We are told that Harold Godwinson claimed all the recovered spoil for himself.

**No Reconciliation.**—Before the battle, Harold Godwinson had tried to win over his brother Tostig by offering him peace and a large earldom. Tostig had replied that he would like to know what his ally Harold Hardrada was to get. Harold Godwinson had answered, "Seven feet of English earth in which he may be buried, or, as he is very tall, perhaps a few inches more." This had decided Tostig to remain opposed to his brother, and so the battle, as we have seen, took place. Both Hardrada and Tostig were slain, the former by an arrow, the latter, it is said, by the hand of his own brother.

On Tuesday evening, September 26th, 1066, Harold

# BATTLE OF STAMFORD BRIDGE

SEPT 25<sup>th</sup> 1066.



Godwinson and his victorious army came back to Jorvik. Then was prepared a mighty feast, at which, with the drinking of vast tankards of ale and mead, the great victory was celebrated.

## CHAPTER IX.

### YORK AND THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

**Saxon Slaughter at Senlac.**—Harold Godwinson was holding a triumph-feast at York when the fateful tidings came that William the Norman had landed. Two days, probably, were taken to shake off the effects of the usual Saxon bibbing and gluttony before the southward march began. Unaccompanied by those ingrates, the Northern Earls, Harold, after an eighteen days' march, reached Senlac, where the Norman host awaited him. The sterner mode of life and the discipline of the invaders told their tale in the ensuing battle, and the Saxon army was slaughtered or scattered, and its leader slain.

**The Boon of Norman Conquest.**—William of Malmesbury, a writer who lived in early Norman times, says, "This was a fatal day to England, a melancholy havoc of our dear country, through its change of masters." History, on the contrary, says that the change was beneficial. Saxon England had been a name: it had no national unity. The men of Kent and their neighbours represented England at Hastings. The Feudal System, whereby the new king, William, shared out the land of his sword-won kingdom among

his followers—largely in return for their service in war for a stated period—brought about a strong central government<sup>4</sup>. England needed this for its proper development. It thus became less insular, and more powerful in the paths of commerce and war.

**The Conqueror's Coming.**—The battle of Senlac, it should be noted, was only the first step in the Conquest of England. It took William some five years to complete it. York and its vicinity, with its strong Danish, and therefore more warlike element, offered an especially stubborn resistance. While William was pacifying the South, the whole country north of the Humber was in revolt. The citizens of York betook themselves to tents erected in the river meads, and daily practised feats of strength and arms. However, when the Conqueror approached, discretion seemed "the better part of valour." A number of the chief inhabitants met him with the keys of the city gate, and many words expressing loyalty. William was, however, doubtful of these fair words; for, before leaving the city, he built a castle on Baile Hill (the wooded mound on the opposite side of the river to the present Castle), and garrisoned it with five hundred men.

**York in Revolt.**—Shortly after William's departure, this castle was assaulted, and Robert Fitz-Richard killed. His successor as "seneschal," William de Malet, though hard pressed, succeeded in holding out till the King returned with a relieving force. The besiegers were caught red-handed in their trenches, and were dispersed with much slaughter. The city was then given over to pillage, a second and stronger castle was built on the present site, the walls were



strengthened, and the garrison was increased to three thousand men.

**A Red Rising.**—In the fall of the following year, a number of Danish galleys sailed up the Ouse, and the sea-rovers incited their kindred to another effort for freedom. The sons of the king of Denmark, his brother,



BAILE HILL MOUND—THE SITE OF YORK'S FIRST CASTLE.

and some of his chief Jarls led this raid of Vikings. The Saxons of Northumbria quitted their fields to join in the expedition. The joint armies came to York "some on horseback, some on foot," says one of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, "full of joy and hope." The city was soon invested. The Norman defenders, hearing that the adjacent houses would provide material for

filling up the trenches, set fire to them. Under cover of the confusion and the smoke, the city was entered, and the raiders were joined by the delighted citizens. The Normans withdrew to the two citadels. For two days the flames raged rampant, destroying, besides hundreds of dwellings, the Minster and the famous Egbert Library. While the ruined streets were still smouldering, the two Norman garrisons made a joint, but fatal, sally.

**The War-Axe of Waltheof.**—Thousands of “these men of France” perished, and foremost among their triumphant foes was the Anglo-Dane, Waltheof, son of the great Jarl Siward. Than Waltheof, wielding his mighty war-axe at the head of an ambuscade near one of the castle gates, and chanting one of the old Sagas, none showed greater prowess, none more of the old heroic Viking spirit. Only the commanders were spared. At Durham, the burghers had successfully effected a similar rising, and the Norman Earl of Northumberland and his retainers had been massacred.

**The Vengeance of the Conqueror.**—The anger of the Conqueror was terrible, and he swore “by God’s splendour” to kill every one of his enemies. Hastening from the West of England, he made a detour into Lincolnshire, and slew many of the invading Danes. He then hurried on to York, whence the rebels fled at his approach. He was crowned there, for a second time, on Christmas Day, 1069, to mark his mastery of the North. This was further impressed by the infamous “Wasting of the North.” With torch and sword the Normans scoured the country from the Humber to the Scottish borders, and destroyed towns and villages, burning all the crops, the live stock, and even the

farming tools of the peasants. Most of those who escaped died in the famine that followed. Others sold themselves into life-long serfdom to get food, and Yorkshire became almost a wilderness. Whole districts are described in Domesday Book as "waste," and the five other northern shires are not included at all. It is interesting to note that the town of Beverley ("the lake of the beavers") escaped the general ruin, probably because of the repute for sanctity it had gained, owing to its connection with a former Archbishop of York who had been canonized as "St. John of Beverley." "The Conqueror," writes an old chronicler, "destroyed men, women, and children, from York to the Western Sea, except those who fled to the Church of John, Archbishop at Beverley."

**Domesday Book.**—The book which we have just mentioned, the "Domesday Book," is one of the most valuable records that any nation possesses. It is a sort of survey of the country, and was compiled in the year 1086. It enables us to understand clearly the manner and effects of the Norman Conquest. Its main purpose is thus indicated in one of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles:—"William sent his men over all England into every shire, and caused them to ascertain how many hundred hides of land it contained; and what lands the King possessed therein; what cattle there were in the several counties; and how much revenue he ought to receive yearly from each." A similar account was obtained of the lands of "his archbishops, his bishops, his abbots, and his earls."

**York after the "Wasting."**—From the description of York in Domesday Book, we learn that it contained seven shires or wards, and probably ten or twelve

thousand people. One shire was occupied by the castle-works, and another was under the rule of the Archbishop, who exercised regal powers within it. No fewer than about one-third of its mansions are described as empty, rendering nothing to the King—a striking testimony to the ruthless wasting of the north. The names of many chief-tenants and under-tenants holding mansions within it are given. A typical example may be quoted:—"The Count of Mortain has fourteen mansions in the city, or stalls in the shambles, and the Church of St. Crux." This nobleman was the Conqueror's brother, and had furnished valuable aid to the extent of fully 120 ships out of the 3000 that brought the invaders across the Channel. His reward was no fewer than 793 manors in twenty different counties.

**The Norman Conquest.**—Everywhere the Conqueror's methods were the same. He struck terror by ruthless devastation. He secured the towns by strong castles and garrisons. He brought about a great change of land-ownership, some twenty thousand Frenchmen displacing a like number of Englishmen. The new-comers got the earldoms, the bishoprics, the abbacies, the greater portion of the big rural estates, and many of the chief burgess-holdings in the towns. The whole machinery of government, national and local, spiritual and temporal, was taken over by a new set of men. Attempts were made, however, to win over the English by pardons, and by recognition of native customs and ideas. Their local Courts, with their system of fees, fines, and forfeitures, were permitted to continue as before.

**The Splendid Normans.**—The following description

of the new-comers, from the pen of William of Malmesbury, is both quaint and interesting :—" The Normans are proudly appavelled, delicate in their food, but not excessive. They are a race inured to war, and can hardly live without it ; fierce in rushing against the enemy ; and where strength fails, ready to use strategy, or to corrupt by bribery. They live in large mansions with frugality, envy their equals, wish to excel their superiors, and plunder their subjects, though they defend them from others. They are faithful to their lords, though a slight offence renders them perfidious. They weigh treachery by its chance of success, and change their sentiments for money. They are, however, the kindest of nations, and esteem strangers of equal honour with themselves. They also intermarry with their vassals. They revived by their arrival the observances of religion, which were everywhere grown lifeless in England. You might see churches arise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities built after a style unknown before. You might behold the country flourishing with renovated sites. Each wealthy man accounted that day lost to him, which he had neglected to signalize by some magnificent action." Such were the men who dominated York after the Norman Conquest.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE CASTLES OF YORK.

**Wardens of the River.**—The two Castles of York were, as first built by the Conqueror, fortresses pure and simple. The question naturally arises—why were they built so close together, and on the same southern side of the city? The answer is that they were both built at a time of Danish river-raids, and not at a period of Scottish forays. Consequently they were erected to command the river; and if a stroll is taken by the riverside and a suitable view obtained from the New Walk, one sees how admirably this would be accomplished.

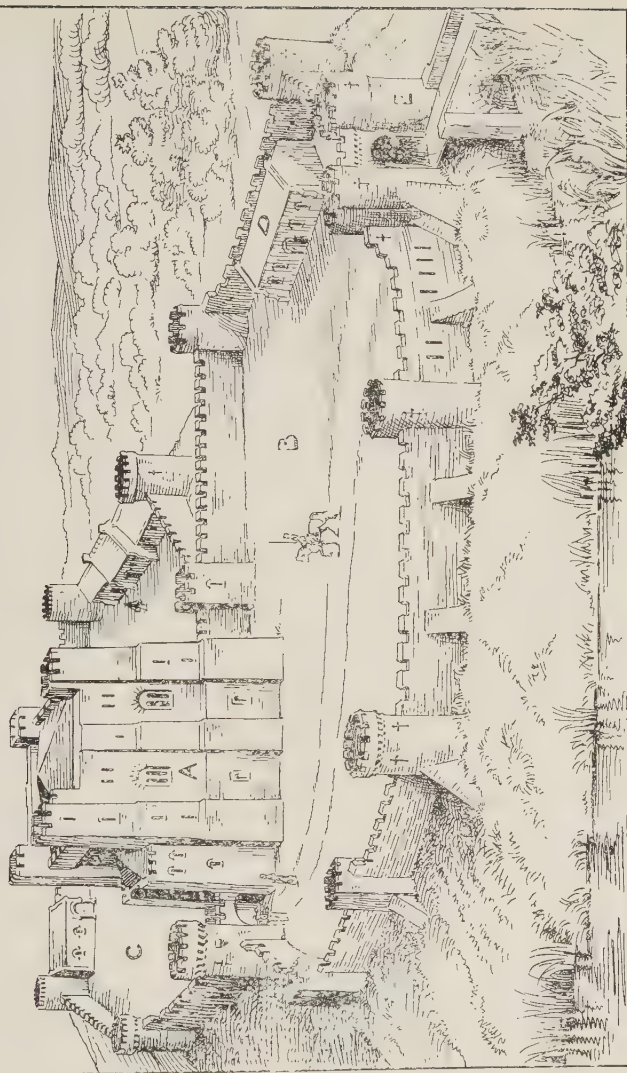
**Norman Castles.**—These castles were in no sense residences: the picture of the mailed baron and his armed vassals shut up in a gloomy “keep” is one of pure romance. A hillock was selected, or constructed, on the line of the walls, and then provided with earth-works surmounted by wooden palisades and surrounded by a moat. This timber-and-earth structure was called a “keep,” and in the first instance was of square or quadrangular shape. The walls would be very thick, measuring from 20 or 30 feet at the base to 6 or 10 feet at the top, and probably extending about 60 feet high. It was on the thickness of their walls that the early castles depended for defence, rather than upon their towers or outworks. Later, improvements by means of stone construction would be gradually effected; but it was not till the Edwardian

period that castles were built with a curtain-wall, round bastions or towers, and a courtyard with residential interior.

**Castle-Clearing.**—Of the seven shires, or wards, that York was divided into at the time of Domesday Book, one was wholly occupied by castle-works. Houses and lands were ruthlessly cleared for this purpose, and this would help in the shrinkage of the population that most certainly occurred about the time of the Conquest.

**The Fishpond of Fosse.**—The Baile Hill fortress had its moat supplied with water from the Ouse. The other castle, in the angle formed by the confluence of the Ouse and the Foss, was also ditched. The ditch was probably dry, as a rule, but was capable of being flooded from the Foss at need. By damming the stream a large pool was made, covering the area of a "carucate"—about 120 acres. This not only served as a storage from which to flood the castle ditch, but also became an important royal fishery, and was styled "The King's Fishpond of Fosse." It stretched from Fishergate over the districts now known as Hungate, Walmgate, and Layerthorpe, and was a notable feature of "Old York" for some hundreds of years. The custodian of the Fishpond was appointed by the king, and the old records mention many royal presents of bream, pike, and other fish to local dignitaries. The King's Mills—for the grinding of corn to supply the Castle—bordered the banks of the Royal Pool. His Majesty also claimed a circuit of land round it, and this was determined to be "as much as the keeper can mow of the grass and rushes, one of his feet being in a boat and the other foot without upon the ground





A. Keep.

B. Outer Ward.

C. Inner Ward, with Domestic Buildings.

A TYPICAL NORMAN CASTLE.

D. Stables.

E. D: awbridge and Gateway.

of the bank." The powerful reeves of the shire, however, were constantly appropriating lands in the vicinity of the pond, and Royal Inquisitions had to be held, now and again, to decide on the ownership of the disputed lands. For instance, the Brethren of the adjoining St. Nicholas' Lazar-house held meadows near the brink, on condition that they supplied all patients coming to the Hospital with "bread and ale, mullet with butter, salmon when it could be had, and cheese." These meadows were seized on behalf of the Crown, but an Inquisition of Edward I.'s reign restored them to their rightful owners.

**When Castle was King.**—The Norman castles were, as has been said, fortresses pure and simple. All town castles were built on the line of the walls or outside them, so as to help in the general defence and permit of both interior and exterior relief or evacuation. Authority to build a castle was given by the king, but, in the reign of Stephen, the nobles did very much as they pleased, and a great number of "adulterine" or unlicensed castles sprang up. One of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles gives us the following picture of feudalism unchecked:—"Every rich man built his castle and defended it against the king. The land was full of castles. The nobles greatly oppressed the wretched people by making them work at these castles, and, when the castles were finished, they filled them with devils and evil men. They took all those that they deemed had any goods, men and women, and tortured them with pains unspeakable. Never were martyrs so tormented. Many thousands they slew with hunger. They levied exactions from the towns; they robbed and burned the villages. Corn, flesh, cheese, butter—

there were none in the land. The bishops and clergy were ever cursing the robbers, but for this they cared nought, for they were all forcursed, forsworn, and forlorn. The earth bore no corn : you might as well have tilled the sea. Men said openly that Christ and His Saints slept."

**Raids by Road and River.**—The merchants' caravans passing to and from York were subject to attack during this period of anarchy. The robber lords of Wheldrake Keep and of Drax Castle (near Selby), swooped upon their prey, both by road and river, until their fortresses were demolished by the King. Wayside woods and lonely heaths were the scene of many a deed of blood and shame. Outlaws—fierce, masterless men—lurked in the dark places.

**The Old Bailey of York.**—Early in the Norman period, the Castle of the Old Baile had passed into the hands of the Archbishops of York. The "motte" or mound upon which it was built had a circumscribing ditch, and this was bridged to communicate with the "bailey" or court-yard, which occupied about three acres. The bailey, of course, was ramparted. The mound-ditch was joined with, and formed part of, the main ditch, which surrounded the whole "motte and bailey." Almost from the first, it began to lapse into ruin. In the first place, it suffered through its nearness to the more important and better-situated fortress. Secondly, the Archbishops were unwilling to disburse much for its repair, although it was adjacent to their lands of Bishophill, Bishopsfields, and Bishopthorpe. We have several records of disputes between the Archbishop and the citizens about the necessary repairs. Thus the walls were frequently in a ruinous state.

**Clifford's Tower.**—The larger castle remained a wooden structure, like its sister fortress, till the reign of Henry III. At the time of the Semite massacre, therefore, it was merely a timber erection. In 1245, the stone keep, later known as Clifford's Tower, was begun, and it was completed in about fourteen years. It is of quatrefoil shape—the only one in England. In the Edwardian period, masonry superseded the



CLIFFORD'S TOWER.

wooden palisades upon the enclosing earth-banks, and several towers were built on the line of the surrounding walls.

**Edwardian Castles.**—The finest castles in the country began to be erected in the reign of Edward I., and on a different plan from the "Keep and Court-yard" style of the Norman fortresses. The fourteenth century is consequently known as the "Edwardian period."

It was the golden age of castle-building. Perhaps the finest examples were built to preserve the Conquest of Wales, notable instances being at Conway, Carnarvon, Chepstow, and Caerphilly, near Cardiff. York Castle was rebuilt half a century too soon for it to possess the splendid concentric features of the Edwardian Castles. These fortresses had two or more rings of defence arranged one within the other. Beginning externally came the moat, and then the outer wall, planted with towers at convenient distances, each pair commanding the curtain-wall between them. Inside that was another fortified wall, the intervening space being broken up by cross divisions. The keep was dispensed with, its place being taken by an open court, walled and towered at the corners, and having its hall, chapel, living-rooms, and offices built against the walls. Between it and the second line of defence was a moat or some other line of defence-work.

**The Decline of the Castle.**—It is interesting to note that in the next century castle-building fell into gradual disuse. One hundred and eighty-one licences to build castles were granted in the reign of Edward III., sixty in that of his successor, Richard II., and but eight in the reign of Henry IV. The governmental castle began to be superseded by the moated grange and the fortified manor-house. The latter, with its moat and wall, was, in fact, a small castle without a keep. Such few castles as were built, or rebuilt, began to have their inner wards arranged like manor-houses. Most castles became the *grandees'* country-houses, and formed a sort of connecting-link between the castle proper and the stately Tudor pleasure-house.

**Causes of Decline.**—The causes that led to the decline of castle-building in the Lancastrian period may be briefly noted. Except on the Borderlands of Wales and Scotland, the need for such constructions had ceased to exist. Risk of private violence had disappeared, and love of comfort and luxury had begun to arise. Further, in the reign of Edward III. the first cannon began to be used.



AN OLD SALLYPORT TO YORK CASTLE.

**Decay and Demolition.**—About the end of the fifteenth century, the Castle of the “Old Baile” came into possession of the Mayor and Commonalty, and succeeding time carried on the work of decay and demolition. A wooded mound still marks the site of its one-time keep, but the bounds of its bailey have been utilized for the erection of houses. The other castle lingered longer, though, even in Clifford’s Tower, little of the older work is now observable. James I.

separated the keep from the court-yard, and granted it as a residence to private individuals. It flickered into life again as a Royal fortress during the Civil War, being repaired, strengthened, and furnished with cannon. It stood a long siege on behalf of the King, but, on the surrender of the city, passed into the possession of the Parliament. In 1684, a fire broke out in Clifford's Tower, and, spreading to the powder magazine, caused a terrific explosion. Only the outer walls were left standing. Since that time York Castle has only existed as a picturesque ruin, and as enclosing within its precincts quite modern buildings, used as a military prison and as Courts of Justice.

**Ah me ! The Picture Passes.**—But, as in a dream-picture of a strange and older York, we can yet see a raised portcullis and a lowered draw-bridge, and from the open gateway issue a brave array of mailed knights and wool-clad bowmen. For a brief moment we watch the gleaming gonfalons, and hear the fanfare of the clarions. And the picture passes !

## CHAPTER XI.

### YORK ENVIRONED BY MANORS.

**Land Tenure Round York.**—The system of land-tenure developed by the Normans in England was known as the "Feudal System." All the land was regarded as the King's, and he shared it out among his followers in estates known as fiefs or manors. The lord of the manor repaid the King by service in war,



though after a time money payments were accepted instead of this. The tenants of the King, some of whom possessed many manors, were known as "tenants-in-chief." For example, Earl Alan of Brittany, the Conqueror's son-in-law, became a tenant-in-chief, and among his numerous manors were those of Clifton, Overton, Skelton, Heworth and Fulford. Sometimes an overlord retained the management of his lands in his own hands, and employed a steward to visit them periodically and supervise them. In cases like this, a bailiff lived on the manor, and ruled in his lord's stead. Sometimes the lord lived in the manor-house of his own manor. Many of the manors allotted by the King corresponded with the limits of the old Saxon villages. As manorial life was a distinctive feature of mediæval times, it may fittingly furnish a phase of national and local history worthy of attention.

**A Typical Manor-House.**—A manor-house consisted of at least three rooms: a hall, a cellar, and a "solar" or sun-chamber. The hall was either square or rectangular in shape, and was constructed of stone. A double row of pillars generally supported the roof, and divided the whole space into a central portion and two aisles. At the end opposite the entrance was a raised dais, where the lord and his family dined, and, behind the dais-wall, and reached by a flight of steps, was the "solar" or private room. Beneath the solar the cellar was probably located. To this minimum was gradually added, in whole or part, a kitchen, chapel, lady's bower, buttery, pantry, sewery, brewery, bakery, laundry, and also stables and outhouses. The entire structure generally stood between two courts, one of which might be a garden and the other a poultry-yard.

The whole area was enclosed by a quickset-hedge, wooden palisades, or a stone wall. Round this boundary ran a moat; but occasionally the moat was "inner," and merely enclosed the buildings. Although at first built almost completely of timber, the manor-house became more and more a permanent stone edifice.

**"The Old Manorial Hall."**—The manorial hall served many purposes. It was the scene of the lord's Court of Justice. It was the general dining-room, and also the bedroom of the household. For many a year, the fire was lit on a hearth-stone in the middle of the floor, and the smoke escaped through a narrowed outlet in the roof called a "lantern." The floor was unboarded, and merely covered with rushes and leaves. The furniture was scanty and plain, there being settees and a fixed table on the dais, with benches and movable tables (made of boards upon tressles), for the lower hall. At nightfall, the latter were removed, to make way for rough pallets of straw, or low, wooden beds.

**The Sun-Chamber.**—The solar was the private sitting-room and bedroom of the lord's family, or of any distinguished visitors. It was wainscoted and tapestried all round, and was as luxuriously appointed with regard to beds and furniture as the knowledge of the times permitted. Early in the thirteenth century carpets were introduced. It possessed a fire-place and ingle-nook for the winter, and a cool window-seat of stone for the summer. Where glass was too expensive for the windows, they were screened by canvas or by wooden shutters.

**The Cellar of the Manor-House.**—The cellar was a large vaulted structure of stone. It was spacious so

as to hold ample supplies of winter food and big casks of ale. It was also used for storing extra clothing and spare necessities for the house and farm. These had to be obtained very largely at the great annual fairs. York possessed one of the most notable fairs in the North, and it was well patronized by the stewards and bailiffs of manors and monasteries far and near.

**Manorial Life.**—The habitants of a large manor-house were the lord, the lady, and their family ; pages, squires, and bower-maidens (young men and women of good birth, who were learning certain duties and accomplishments) ; and lastly, personal attendants and menials, both male and female. The mornings were generally devoted to the serious business of the manor, the afternoons to such pleasures as hunting and hawking. Life, in those days, was essentially one of the open air, and early hours were kept. In the words of the old Norman distich :—

“ To rise at five, to dine at nine,  
To sup at five, to bed at nine,  
Makes a man live to ninety-and-nine.”

In unpropitious weather, chess or dice might be indulged in, or perhaps more violent amusements, such as dancing or “ hoodman blind,” might be favoured. Occasionally a wandering musician or mountebank might serve to relieve the monotony of manorial life.

**Folk of the Hamlet.**—If the manor-house had not been previously associated with a village, one soon sprang up in its neighbourhood. The most important personage in the village, after the lord of the manor, was the rector of the parish, who derived an ample income from glebe-lands, tithes, and fees. The village church was of stone, and was built to hold many times

its number of worshippers. Besides being a house of religious service, it was often a place for public meetings, a storehouse, and a fortress. After the rector in importance came the free tenants, and the "villeins" or serfs. The former paid for their holdings, and were under no obligation as regards forced labour. The serfs had small allotments, but were bound to plough, sow, and reap their lord's land at the direction of his bailiff. They could not marry, sell, or perform any important function of life without their lord's consent. They were mere chattels of the land, and changed masters with it. A certain section of the unfree tenants formed the "cottier" class. They paid a small sum as rent for their houses and garths, and assisted their lord at busy times, but were generally free to follow such occupations as those of smith, cobbler, and carpenter for the community.

**The Land of the Hamlet.**—The manorial hamlet was at first a single street. Along each side of it were the houses of the tillers of the soil, with little yards around them. Scattered farmhouses appeared later. Stretching away from the village were three great fields of arable land, one of wheat, one of oats or beans, and one left fallow. These fields were divided up into two-rood strips, separated, not by hedges, but by "balks" of unploughed turf. Each man's holding was made up of strips scattered up and down these fields, and no man held two adjoining strips. Besides the arable fields, there were also meadows, roughly enclosed for the hay-harvest and divided into portions by lot, rotation, or custom. After hay-time they were thrown open for common pasturage. Generally,

also, there was some permanent pasture for the cattle, and adjacent woodland for the pigs. The lord, as a rule, retained about one-third of the land for his own purposes, and it was called his "demesne." The remoter land was used as common land, and its enclosure in later times led to outcry and outbreak among the rural population.

**The Manor-Mill.**—The manor-house was often placed near a stream, of which the water was used for a mill. Every manor and parish had its mill, and, if no stream was handy, this would be a windmill. The number of mills in the neighbourhood of York was a distinctive feature till quite modern times. The miller was a most important person, and derived a comfortable living from his "tolls." Everyone was obliged to use the manor-mill, for the lord shared in the profits. In return, he provided the miller with his mill-stones, and with the wheel or sails by which the mill was driven.

**Manorial Scenes.**—The staple trade of the manor was in corn, flesh, and dairy produce. Typical industrial scenes would be the carting of surplus grain in wains to such a market as York, the thinning of the flocks at Martinmas for winter supplies, and the making of thin cheeses in the dairy-house. Later, the manor began to trade in wool and wool-fells and hides. York, one of the great mediæval wool-marts, would be environed by manors engaged in supplying the merchants who would gather there.

**The Manor-Court.**—Whenever the lord of the manor held his court, an unwonted bustle pervaded the village. It was a gleam in the drab dulness of rustic life. Some of the villagers, as having local knowledge, were

present as a sort of jury. Others were there as delinquents. A poacher might be arraigned for deer-stealing, a scolding woman for disturbing the peace, a miller for charging excessive tolls, a brewer for brewing thin ale. Others were there as petitioners. One man wished to make his lad a "clerk" or scholar; another desired his daughter to marry; a third asked for permission to cut down in the woodlands for his own purposes. All fines and fees went into the lord's pocket. For serious crimes, the manorial courts generally awarded imprisonment or mutilation. Some, however, possessed the power of life and death, male criminals dying on the gallows-tree, and female criminals in the water-pit.

**The Changing Years.**—The manorial system developed most slowly in the North. This was on account of the "Wasting of the North," its remoteness from London, and the fact that it was so long "debatable land." Big stretches of unoccupied country were numerous. Wild fowl screamed in these ancient solitudes; merry trout and piscatory otters disported in many a virgin stream; the sunbeam and the wind-blast traversed the untrodden moors. Out of these unused districts the King often made new manors. With the rolling years, the manor became more valuable, and new manors were carved out of it. In the earlier days, the manor and the parish meant much the same thing, but later, though the parish boundaries did not alter much, they often included several manors. The practice of forming new manors gave rise to so many difficulties that it was stopped in the reign of Edward I. After the Black Death the land began to be let or leased out in farms. In the fourteenth and

fifteenth centuries, the manor-house became larger and more luxurious. It developed a second story (largely for bedrooms), and tiles, tapestry, frescowork, and stained-glass casements were all used in its adornment. Changes went on apace, serfdom died, and feudalism decayed. Land values increased, and the manor became so divided and sub-divided that the system became grotesque. Most of the old manorial ways passed. A few, however, exist to this day to remind us of those Feudal times when York was environed by manors, and when manorial life and custom played their great part in the affairs of men.

## CHAPTER XII.

### “GOD’S CASTLES” IN YORK.

**Manifold Monasteries.**—A notable feature of mediæval life centred round the monastery. The “Wasting of the North” had turned the northern shires into a wilderness. It was the monks who changed the wilderness into a fruitful field. In the words of William of Newburgh, “they went into the wastes and founded ‘God’s Castles,’ in which the servants of the true anointed King do keep watch, and His young are exercised in war against spiritual wickedness.” Not only were these abbeys and monasteries centres of religious life, but they were also centres of education. A large abbey was, in addition, also a nucleus of industry; for it generally possessed its own smiths, carpenters, millers, masons, fishers, huntsmen, and



tillers. Many monastic houses, as may be deduced from the name “Hospital” given to them, were specially existent for the care of the sick and the poor. Some were distinctly of a military type, the solitary example in York being the Chapel of the Knights’ Templars near the Castle Mills.

**Pre-Norman Times.**—There were at least four religious houses in York before the Conquest. These were the Minster, the large and important Christ Church (probably on the site of the present Holy Trinity Church, Micklegate), the Monastery of Galmanho (afterwards the site of St. Mary’s Abbey), and St. Peter’s Hospital. A Norman Abbey may, however, be fittingly selected to illustrate monastic life, as the Norman Conquest was the prelude of a revival both in monasticism and in the power of the Church.

**St. Mary’s Abbey.**—The Abbey of St. Mary was founded by the “Red King” in the year 1088. It was an extension and re-dedication of the Monastery known sometimes as Galmanho, sometimes as St. Olave’s Abbey. The first abbot was Stephen, formerly Prior of Whitby and Lastingham Abbeys. He was consecrated by Thomas of Bayeux, Archbishop of York, one of the most learned men of the time.

**The Monastic Life.**—The buildings of a considerable community centred round the Abbey Church. This church would be the main object of the love and care of the monks. Its fame for exquisite beauty, or as a shrine of blessed relics, would bring wealth and lands to the community. It was divided into two parts, the choir for the use of the monks, and the nave for that of the servants and visitors. Adjacent were the “cloisters,” a covered arcade surrounding a garth in

the shape of a quadrangle. This was the chief haunt of the monks, for their life was largely one of the open air. To and fro in studious converse or silent meditation, daily paced the black-robed denizens. On the river-shore close by, ever and anon rosy-cheeked brethren whiled away with rod and line the eventful afternoons, especially when to-morrow would be Friday. Over the green lawns and pleasaunces of the precincts, ever and anon, passed the sound of sweet singing.

**The Monastic Buildings.**—The cloisters were bounded by the monastic buildings. The Chapter House was the business room of the Abbey. The whole internal arrangements and government of the Abbey were managed here. A large refectory, eighty feet by forty, formed the dining-hall of the establishment. There was also a *scriptorium*, or writing-room, for the making of leases and the interviewing of the steward. Here went on the copying of the missals, books of hours, and chronicles which formed a great feature of monastic routine. A guest-house, dole-house, infirmary, dormitories, store-rooms, and cellars formed other important parts of the Abbey.

**My Lord Abbot !**—The monks of the Abbey belonged to the Benedictine Order. The chief of them was styled “My Lord Abbot.” He possessed the power of life and death within a district known as “the Liberty of St. Mary.” He held courts where he dispensed “high justice and low.” A prison was connected with the Abbey, and the Abbot’s gallows, situated adjacent to his corn-mills, creaked its gruesome refrain in every wind that whistled. The Abbot had a London house ; for he was a Peer of Parliament, till the “Dissolution of the Monasteries”



Photo by:

ST. MARY'S ABBEY.

W. Watson.

Bray.

by Henry VIII. He possessed manor-houses at Overton and Deighton as well as within the Abbey bounds. Forty churches in the county belonged to the Abbey, as well as several in other shires. A large number of manors, such as those of Clifton and Poppleton, yielded him a goodly rent-roll.

**A Romantic Riot and its Sequel.**—The beautiful Abbey of Fountains, near Ripon, was an off-shoot from the famous York Abbey. Some of the monks of the latter became dissatisfied with the lax discipline of the institution, and, after a vain appeal to the Abbot, carried their grievances to the Archbishop. To the intense indignation of the majority of the brethren, that dignitary came to hold an inquiry, attended by many clerics of importance. Leaving their horses at the gateway, they walked towards the Chapter House. They were received by the Abbot, who refused admittance to all except the Archbishop and his clerks. A warfare of words followed, and the noise of the altercation could be heard within the Chapter House. A crowd of angry monks and servitors, hooting and yelling, issued therefrom, and rushed towards the Archbishop in very threatening fashion. The Archbishop then solemnly placed the Abbey under an interdict. One of the reforming monks was so pleased, that in his excitement he shouted out that the interdict ought to be for a hundred years. The offended Abbot and his followers could no longer restrain themselves, and after a struggle the Archbishop, his retinue, and the thirteen reforming monks found themselves outside the gates, expelled without ceremony. The outcasts were befriended by the Archbishop, and obtained his permission to found an Abbey



FOUNTAINS ABBEY, NEAR RIPON—SHOWING LONELY LOCATION.

on his manor near Ripon. They adopted the stricter rules of the Cistercians, who had just erected an Abbey at Rievaulx, The Abbey of Fountains, which they constructed after many years of toil and hardship, was one of the most beautiful in England.

**Some Kirkham Records.**—About the same time, the founder of Rievaulx, Sir Walter L'Espece, also founded the Priory of Kirkham on the banks of the Derwent. The records of Kirkham furnish us with some valuable glimpses of monastic life. Its title-deeds set forth that the monks should have, among other privileges, the use of the mill at Newsom, certain meadows and cornlands, the right of fishing in the river, and that of feeding their pigs in the neighbouring woods. A tithe also of the deer, pigs, goats, and beasts of the woods was assigned to them. Some curious gifts to the Priory are recorded. One man "left his best horse and ten pounds of wax"; a second, "a great cup with a cover of silver gilt"; a third, "his best black cow, eleven sheep, and the sum of three shillings and fourpence." We also read many facts of interest about the lives of the monks. One of them, as a penalty for some offence, was never permitted out of doors except with the Prior; another, in whose possession fourteen shillings were discovered, was disgraced and compelled to yield them up, for the rule was that everything was to be held in common.

**The Monastic Routine.**—The daily life of a monk was regulated by the number of services which he was bound to attend. The intervals of the day were spent in such duties as teaching, studying, copying, fishing, and looking after the concerns of the church, the kitchen, the stables, and the farm. Some of the monks were



heads of departments under the general control of the Abbot or Prior. The Master of the Fabric supervised the monastic buildings; the Sacristan was responsible for everything connected with the services of the Church; the Chamberlain looked after the dormitories; the Cellarer regulated the stores; the Almoner looked after the doles. There were also many under-officials with special duties. The Keeper of the Church rang the monastery bells, and attended to the Church vestments and candles. Other sub-officials were the Sergeant, the Clerk, and the Cook of the Infirmary; the Sergeant Tailor and the Sergeant Shoe-maker; the Washerman of the Clothes-room; the Warders of the Refectory and Hostrey; and so forth. The routine of the day included three meals, a light breakfast called the *mixtum*, dinner, and supper. Just before sunset, the gates of the monastery were closed. After “compline,” the last service of the day, the monks passed in procession to the dormitories. Lights were frequently kept burning the whole night long, and, at times, a constant succession of psalms was chanted by relays of monks.

**The Coming of the Friars.**—The reign of Henry III. saw the coming of the Friars to England. The two chief Orders were the Franciscans (the Grey Friars) and the Dominicans (the Black Friars). They not only caused a great religious and intellectual revival, but were also the apostles of social reform. Just as the monks had been the pioneers of religion in the country districts, so the friars became the missionaries of the towns. With splendid zeal, they devoted themselves to the work of preaching, teaching, and healing the sick. Many abuses arose in later years



among the Mendicant Orders, but there is no doubt that, especially in the early fervour of the movement, much good was the result of their labours.

**Friars Grey and Friars Black.**—The Friars early established themselves in York, and the existence of no less than six Friaries is recorded. Of these, the Franciscan Friary was the most important. Its buildings



THE KING'S MANOR HOUSE, NOW YORK SCHOOL FOR  
THE BLIND.

stretched from Castlegate to the river, and from Friargate almost to the Castle Wall. Remains of its boundary wall still exist near the river and in Tower Street. It was commodious enough to be the residence of mediæval kings and queens when in York, and was the main Franciscan Friary in the North. Its jurisdiction extended over similar institutions in Boston, Lincoln,

Grimsby, Beverley, Doncaster, and Scarborough. The Dominicans established their Friary on Toft Green, on what is now the old Railway Station. Its occupants were sometimes known as "friars of the toftes."

**Dissolution.**—The religious houses of York, nearly seventy in number, came to an end in the reign of Henry VIII. Many of them had, however, entered upon days of decadence before then. At the time of its dissolution, St. Mary's Abbey possessed an Abbot with fifty monks, and probably about three times as many lay-brethren and dependents. Its annual value at that period was nearly £2000. The Abbot's house was thenceforth utilized as the residence of the Presidents of the Council of the North. Many portions of the old building remain to this day in the Manor House, now used as the Wilberforce School for the Blind. The ruins of the Abbey have, since 1822, been under the care of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### YORK AND THE SCOTTISH RAIDERS.

**The Debatable Land.**—Much of the North of England during the reigns of the Norman kings was debatable land. "The Wasting of the North" had robbed it of strength, and Northumberland, Cumberland, and especially Durham, were subjected to the frequent raids of the wild Scots.

**The Coming of the Scots.**—About seventy years after the Norman Conquest, the Scottish raiders

suffered a very notable check. Stephen of Blois had usurped the English throne, and David, King of Scotland, crossed the Border to support the cause of his niece Matilda. Such was his pretext, but the expedition was mainly a free-booting one, and was recognized as such by the "Men of the North." The lands round York were still lean on account of the Conqueror's harrying, so the city itself was the objective of the enemy. Their coming was slow, and the tale of it and its attendant cruelties afforded ample time for preparation.

**Thurstan the Tocsin.**—The aged Thurstan, Archbishop of York, did splendid service in awakening a national spirit, and in mobilizing the forces of the district. He sent priests with crosses, banners, and relics through the parishes, summoning the inhabitants to arms. He allayed the jealousies of the Norman barons, and induced them to act in concert. To the subject English, he successfully pleaded "the common cause." The result of his efforts shows how rapidly the unifying of the two races was taking place. In the succeeding contest, mail-clad Norman knight and wool-clad English Bowman fought side by side. "English yeomen obeyed Norman leaders; English and Normans were hailed as the sons of one mother."

**Sir Walter L'Espece**—The heroic prelate did not accompany the *fyrð*, or militia, of the northern shires that he had so ably organized. He was too old and feeble, and the journey, even in his litter, was too much for his wasted frame. As the soldiers issued from the gates to find and fight the Scots, his prayers and tears went with them. William, Earl of Albemarle, was in supreme command, and one of his ablest

lieutenants was Sir Walter L'Espec, Lord of Kirkham. The latter was perhaps the most famous of the local barons, and the following striking word-portrait of him by Ældred, Abbot of Rievaulx, may be of interest. "Sir Walter L'Espec was an old man, and full of days—sharp of intellect, prudent in council, moderate in peace, careful in war, true to friends, and faithful to kings. He was great in stature, his limbs well-proportioned to his stature ; his hair black, his beard long, his forehead open and free, his eyes large and keen ; his voice like a trumpet, regulating, by a certain majesty of sound, eloquence that was easy to him. He was noble by flesh, but more noble by Christian piety."

**The Battle of the Standard.**—The Scots were met on Cowton Moor, near Northallerton, and it was there that the "Battle of the Standard" happened. The battle was so named from the "Standard" which was borne into the fray to excite religious enthusiasm on the one side, and superstitious fear on the other. It consisted of the banners of the four favourite Saints of the North—St. Peter of York, St. Cuthbert of Durham, St. Wilfred of Ripon, and St. John of Beverley. These were fastened on a pole, along with a crucifix and a silver chalice containing the Eucharist, and fixed in a low, four-wheeled cart. How it would hearten for the coming conflict the Saxon section of the English forces, to find themselves arrayed under the banners, and fighting under the glamour, of their old Saxon Saints!

Prior Hugo of York, who lived in those times, furnishes a second and a witty reason for styling the affray, "The Battle of the Standard."

"Standard from *stand* this fight we aptly call,  
Our men here stood to conquer or to fall."

**The Speech before the Battle.**—Before battle was joined, Ralph, Bishop of Durham, delivered from a grassy mound a most eloquent and inspiring oration :—" Most illustrious nobles of England, Normans by birth, consider who you are and against whom and where it is you are waging war, for then no one with impunity shall resist your prowess. Bold France, taught by experience, has quailed beneath your valour ; fierce England, led captive, has submitted to you ; rich Apulia, on having you for her masters, has flourished once again ; Jerusalem, so renowned and illustrious, and Antioch have bowed themselves before you ; and now Scotland, which of right is subject to you, attempts to show resistance, displaying a temerity not warranted by her arms. These are people, in fact, who have no knowledge of military matters, no skill in fighting, no moderation in ruling. Like so many drunkards and madmen, they come flocking into our country. They know not how to arm themselves for battle ; whereas you, during time of peace, prepare yourselves for war, in order that in battle you may not experience the doubtful chances of warfare. Cover your heads, then, with the helmet, your breasts with the coat of mail, your legs with the greaves, and your bodies with the shield, that so the foemen may not find where to strike at you, on seeing you thus surrounded on every side with iron. Marching then against them, why should we hesitate ? On account of their numbers perhaps ? But it is not so much the number as the valour of the few that gains the battle. For a multitude unused to discipline is a hindrance to itself : when successful, in completing the victory ; when routed, in taking to flight. Besides,

your forefathers, when but few in numbers, have many a time conquered multitudes. The natural consequence, therefore, of the glories of your ancestry, your constant exertions, your military discipline, is that, though fewer in number, you should overcome legions."

**The Clash of Arms.**—When the Bishop had ended his inspiring address, his hearers responded with loud "Amens." At the same moment, shouting their war-cry of "Albany! Albany!" the Scots bore down on the English ranks. They were lightly armed with darts and lances of great length, but they made little impression on the English knights, who were encased in iron and wielded tough spears and great war-axes. The Scots made many onsets, but the phalanx of Anglo-Normans, in close and dense array, remained immovable.

**Fight and Flight.**—One of the clansmen had boasted, "I who wear no armour will go as far this day as any man with breast-plate of mail." The value of protection by armour, however, was fully shown that day. The clouds of arrows from the English archers, who are said (with doubtful accuracy) to have been distributed among the horsemen, pierced and slew scores of their assailants. At last, the Scots were compelled to take flight. Rumour said that many thousands of them were slain upon the field, and many fugitives were afterwards found in the recesses of the neighbouring woods or hidden in the upstanding corn, and put to death. The vanquished left all their baggage and plunder behind. Only eight out of two hundred knights, the flower of Scottish chivalry, took their harness back to Scotland. For one hundred and fifty years, Yorkshire was immune from Scottish foray.

**The Route of the Raiders.**—It is interesting to note that the line of Scottish incursion generally followed the easier eastern route, and that Newcastle, Durham, and York, after the Border Castles, formed the successive bulwarks of the North. Two Archbishops of York in the fourteenth century essayed to emulate the example of the gallant Thurstan, but with keenly contrasting results. Archbishop Melton was largely responsible for the inglorious “Chapter of Myton.” Archbishop Zouche organized for Queen Philippa the splendid victory of “Neville’s Cross.” These are but examples of a long series of skirmishes and battles between English and Scots during hundreds of years. National unity in some shape was bound to be evolved after the stress and strain of centuries of struggle. It was a “geographical necessity.”

**Frays and Forays.**—What a flutter followed on those old frays and forays !

“In each remotest hamlet, by the hearth,  
The cart, the grey church-porch, the village pump,  
By meadow and mill and old manorial hall,  
By turnpike and by tavern, farm and forge,  
Men staved the crimson vintage of romance,  
And held it up against the light and drank it.”

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE YORK JEWRY.

**The Jews in England.**—Records tell us that in Saxon times the Jews visited the city of York. Even then they were a hapless people. One Saxon Archbishop of York forbade his people to eat or deal with



them. A law of Edward the Confessor described them as "the King's chattels." Probably their residence in England before the Conquest was merely casual, and occasioned by the requirements of the slave trade, of which they then held a monopoly.

**After the Conquest.**—However, in the reigns of the Conqueror and the succeeding kings, the Jews came over to this country in considerable numbers. Their position was peculiarly unpleasant, and for this the Church was responsible. It regarded them as "the Accursed People," because of the death of Christ on the Cross at the hands of their nation. The result was that they lived here on a wretched sufferance.

**The Status of the Jew.**—The Jews were outside the law, except where in special towns they held a charter direct from the Crown. They were prevented from holding rank or office, because this would entail the taking of a Christian oath. They could not hold land or become farmers, because feudal tenure involved Christian fealty. They could not trade on ordinary lines, because trade was managed by Guilds, which were Christian brotherhoods. They became, perforce, financial agents to the King and nobility, and here again the Church was responsible. It regarded the loan of money to be repaid with the addition of interest as directly prohibited by the Gospel. The Jew was, therefore, not altogether a "usurer" from choice. The profession was forbidden to the Christian, and, consequently, peculiarly open to the Jew. With the wonderful persistence and ability of his race, he pursued it with talent and success. Probably it was the capitalist Jew on the Continent that made the Norman Conquest possible by financing the enterprise. Probably it was

some measure of gratitude, and some experience of the value of the Jew as a loan-agent, that induced the Conqueror to introduce into his new dominion a Jewish colony from Rouen.

**The Moneys of the Jew.**—The Jews continued to come over under the earlier Norman kings, and their moneys were undoubtedly of great service in developing the country. Many a stately castle and fair abbey were erected by aid of Jewish “usury.” For instance, Aaron of Lincoln, in the twelfth century, furnished funds for the building of no less than nine Cistercian monasteries in Yorkshire. When he died, the amount of the debt on these amounted to the large sum of 6,400 marks. The sequel was typical of the times. Both his treasure and his debts were seized by the King, although he left several sons; and Richard I. commuted this particular debt to the monastic debtors for 1000 marks—less than one-sixth of its total. In this way he salved his conscience for robbing the poor Jew.

**Jew-Baiting.**—It was during the reign of this King that the great storm of Jew-baiting burst and raged through the land. At London, Lynn, Bury, Stamford, York, and other towns, the great “Fury” was felt. It was to some extent, no doubt, due to the crusading spirit that was abroad. But at York, and probably at many other towns, the attacks were engineered, not only by fanatical friars, but also by a set of nobles deeply in debt to the Jews, and bent on destroying the evidences of it. The rabble were the dupes, inasmuch as their trading was still largely by barter, and therefore they had no reason to resort to the Jews.

**York Jews at a Crowning.**—The colony of Jews in York resided in the Jewry, a quarter stretching roughly

from Jubbergate (now Market Street) to Jewbury. They were a wealthy class, and possessed a notable school and library. But a terrible tragedy befell them. Cœur de Lion had especially forbidden the attendance of the despised and hated sect at his coronation. Jocen of Coney Street and Benedict of Spen Lane, along with their prominent fellow-countrymen from other towns, regarded this prohibition as an empty form required by prejudice. Bearing rich gifts, they journeyed to London. Now let that good Yorkshire monk, Roger of Howden, tell the story :—" While the King was seated at the table at the Coronation Feast, the chief men of the Jews came to offer presents to him, but as they had been forbidden to come to the King's Court on the day of coronation, the common people, with scornful eye and insatiable hate, rushed upon the Jews and stripped them. Then, scourging them, they cast them forth from the King's Hall. The citizens of London, on hearing of this, attacked the Jews in the city, and burnt their houses ; but, by the kindness of their Christian friends, some few of them made their escape."

**The Aftermath.**—Benedict was on that occasion one of the victims of murder and maltreatment, for he received his death-wound there ; but Jocen returned in safety to his abode. The King punished some of the rioters by hanging, " not for the sake of the Jews, but on account of the houses and property of the Christians which had been burnt and plundered." In spite of this, and of a decree of Richard that the Jews should be left in peace, the " Red Terror " leapt from town to town, and at last reached York. There it ran riot.

**The Semite Massacre.**—The first object of attack was Benedict's stone mansion in Spenn Lane, where his family still lived. It was surrounded by a wolfish rabble, and first gutted, then looted. But in the meantime the other Jews had taken alarm. They sent their bonds, deeds, and other valuable papers to the Minster for preservation, and then, with their wives, families, and portable treasure, threw themselves on the mercy of the governor of the castle. They were admitted within the keep, but an unfortunate misunderstanding occurred which deprived the poor Jews of any shreds of safeguard from the authorities. The governor left the keep to confer with other officials, and, on his return, found that the Jews, fearing treachery, had overpowered the guard, and now refused to lower the drawbridge to re-admit him. An angry mob of indebted nobles desirous of escaping payment, rough soldiery, frenzied friars, and brawl-loving citizens assembled, and, led by the reeve of the shire, assaulted the castle. The besieged had little food and no weapons. In vain they offered a large sum for their lives. After a few days of siege, the timbers of the fortalice were so breached by battering rams that the end was in sight. Then it was that the bolder spirits among the defenders became fired with a terrible resolve. As William of Newburgh, another Yorkshireman of that day, tells:—"A most famous doctor of the law had come from parts beyond the seas to teach the English Jews. He was honoured by all, and obeyed as if he had been one of the prophets. When, therefore, he was asked what should be done, he replied, 'God to whom none shall say, "Why dost Thou so?"' orders us now to die for the law. And now, behold, our

death is at the door ; let us select the form of death most honouring. Since the life the Creator gave us He now demands again, let us willingly give it up to Him with our own hands. For thus in many tribulations have many of our brethren bravely done.’ ”

**A Horrible Holocaust.**—“ With dainty envy ” (as the chronicler quaintly hath it), the more heroic of the doomed burnt their sacred scrolls, their rich raiment, and their costly trinkets. Then, after slaying their wives and children, they stabbed themselves. The following morning, the survivors, wild-eyed and shrinking, threw open the gates, and offered to become Christians, but were ruthlessly butchered by their pitiless foes. The yelling and triumphant miscreants then wended to the Minster, and obtained forcible possession of the bonds deposited there. These they burnt in the nave.

**“ The King’s Justice ! ”** On hearing of the massacre, the King sent the Bishop of Ely, his Regent, to punish the offenders. The prelate was content to punish by fines ; “ not one person was executed for his villainy.” Not being received by the local clerics with sufficient ceremony, he put the churches of York under an interdict and the bells were taken down, till the canons, vicars, and other ecclesiastics came and made submission at his feet.

**The Hounding of the Jews.**—Increasingly severe laws were made against the Jews. The King organized the English Jewry so as to keep a record of all their transactions. All debts, pledges, mortgages, lands, houses, rents, and possessions of the Jews were to be registered, and a copy of all deeds came under royal control. The Church, too, began an increasingly violent

anti-Jewish policy. It compelled all the Jews in England to wear a distinctive badge, a patch of yellow taffety on the outer garment. It fostered the myth that the Jews sacrificed Christian children on the Passover. Law after law was compiled against them. They were forbidden to own land, to become burgesses, to heal the sick, to employ Christian servants. They were hounded down for coin-clipping, in most cases an unjust charge.

**In Spite of All.**—In spite of all, many of them continued to thrive. Some old records, called the "Patent Rolls," contain several references to extensive Jewish mansions in York. In Henry III.'s reign, Aaron of York was able to pay a fine of four marks of gold and four thousand marks of silver. Samuel, his compatriot, was also mulcted in seven thousand silver pieces. But the end was drawing near. The failure of the Dominican Friars in York, as elsewhere, to convert the Jews, and the fact that, in spite of Church's ban, close intercourse was maintained between Jew and Christian (as evidenced by the Bull of Pope Honorius IV. to the Archbishop of York), brought matters to a climax.

**Banishment.**—In 1290, Edward I. ordered all the Jews in England, 16,000 in number, to leave the kingdom before All Saints' Day. A few reached France in safety. Many were wrecked, many robbed, and many thrown into the sea. Four hundred and fifty years elapsed before our laws again permitted the Jews to live in this country.

## CHAPTER XV.

## YORK—A MEDIÆVAL METROPOLIS.

**The Capital of the North.**—For many a long day after the Norman Conquest, York was regarded as the Capital of the North. Its greatness in Roman times would be a precedent for the prestige that long clung to it. Further, it was a sort of half-way house between England and Scotland. It was thus eminently suitable as the common meeting-ground for stately ceremonial when the two countries were at peace, and was equally adapted as a base for attack or defence in time of war. Besides, every now and again, in those days of quick trouble and slow transit, some kind of royal supervision over the North became necessary. York, a military and monastic centre, a wool-mart, a river-port, a town not too nigh the troublous Border, was well fitted by its position and importance for such a purpose. Instances of historic events occasioned by its status are numerous. To the mind's eye they pass in pageant, decked with all "the trappings of high circumstance."

**The Trysting Town of Kings.**—Before the days of a representative Parliament, the Great Council of Bishops and Barons was frequently summoned to York, to advise the King or to take part in some historic happening. For example, in the reign of Henry II., Malcolm, King of Scotland, appeared before the English King and his Council at York to do homage for his kingdom. Eleven years later, under precisely



similar circumstances, Malcolm's son, William, went through the same ceremony, and deposited on the altar of St. Peter in the Cathedral, after the proper feudal mode, his breast-plate, spear, and saddle, in token of submission. For a short period, the English King was strong enough to obtain recognition of his claim to be overlord of Scotland.

**King John.**—The worthless King John visited York on no fewer than sixteen occasions. His first visit furnished an example of his tyrannous disposition, for he fined the citizens £100 for not going to meet him. During his reign many important improvements were effected in the defences of the city, especially with respect to the city walls and ditch.

**Royal Weddings in York.**—In Henry III.'s reign, two important marriages were celebrated in York Minster. In 1221, Alexander II. of Scotland married the King's sister Joan. The bride was nicknamed "Joan Makepeace," since the wedding was designed to promote a friendly feeling between the two countries. About a decade later, the two monarchs met again at York, and spent Christmastide together. Henry was attended by his household, and also by a goodly company of Lords, Spiritual and Temporal. A splendid festival of three days' duration was held, and the English King presented his brother-in-law with horses, rings, jewels, and other gifts. Twenty years after, Alexander III., son of the previous Alexander, espoused Margaret, Henry III.'s daughter. The city was thronged with a fine array of English, Scottish, and even French nobility, with their retinues. An affray sprang up among the esquires and retainers of the various lords, as the result of difficulties and disputes

concerning the lodgings of their masters. In the brawl that ensued, swords, clubs, and fists were freely used, and some blood was shed. On the day before the wedding, the young Scottish monarch and twenty of his nobles received the accolade of knighthood in the Cathedral. The question of homage was skilfully evaded by the young King at the instigation of his nobles. Matthew of Paris thus describes the concourse in the city :—

**When Henry III. was King.**—"Here was such a mixture of nations, such throngs of English, French and Scottish nobility, such an incredible number of captains of war dressed in womanish garments, priding themselves in silk and satin ornaments. If I should describe to the full the wanton vanities of the age, it would occasion a weariness as well as an admiration among the auditors. If I were to fully explain the great abundance and diversity of victuals, the various changes of rich attire, the mirth and jollity of the guests with the quantity of strong liquors they drank, those who did not see would not believe." Archbishop Walter Grey provided one of the entertainments, and the first course thereof was sixty fat oxen. He gave also lodgings for the strangers, provender and pasturage for their horses, fuel for their fires, and gifts of money for their servitors. But the worldly-wise chronicler adds : "This was all sown on barren soil, and never rose to his profit."

**Charter and Parliament.**—The two English Kings last mentioned were connected with two of the most salient events in our history. In the reign of King John, the barons and clergy combined to compel the King to sign our first written record

of freedom, the "Great Charter." It imposed certain obligations of customary justice upon the King in dealing with his subjects, but was practically a dead letter until a properly constituted Parliament arose to secure its observance and that of other charters and laws, which were gradually conceded by, or wrested from, successive Kings. It was exactly fifty years after, in the reign of Henry III., that the first representative Parliament was held. It was not a mere Council of leading barons and prelates, but included representatives of the boroughs and shires. About another half-century elapsed before it became the custom to summon the "Commons" (as these elected members from the boroughs and shires were called), and it took a much longer period before Parliament became other than a mere advisory assembly.

**York, Capital of England.**—The so-called Parliaments that met in York during the reigns of John and Henry III. were really National Councils of Peers; but most of the Parliaments held in the city by the three Edwards included representatives of the Commons, and more justly deserve their name. In fact, York became, for brief periods, the metropolis of the kingdom. The Courts of Justice, to wit the Court of King's Bench and the Court of Exchequer, were on several occasions removed from London to York, and such important Records as the Exchequer Rolls, the Pipe Rolls, and Domesday Book were also transferred thither. Edward I. effected this change for no less than seven years, "in order that the King and his Council might be near one another, and near Scotland."

**A Base in the Scottish Wars.**—One event in the

city's chronicles recalls Edward I.'s successful Conquest of Wales. The famous Welsh patriot, Rees ap Meredith, after his capture, was brought to York, tried for high treason, condemned, and hanged on the gallows. Of course, Edward's other great project, the Conquest of Scotland, necessitated many sojourns at York. At one of his Parliaments here, he confirmed the Great Charter and the Charter of Forests. He was also granted money for the prosecution of the war, "the ninth penny by the Commons, the tenth penny by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the fifth penny by the Archbishop of York." The northern prelate evidently felt that York and the North would be especially benefited by successful warfare, and that, on this account, his contribution should be especially generous.

Passing over Edward II.'s connection with York, which is described in a separate chapter, we note that in the first year of Edward III.'s reign the King held rendezvous at York with Lord John of Hainault. The latter nobleman was attended by five hundred knights and men-at-arms. For the six weeks of their stay the city accommodated sixty thousand people, about four times its normal population. Yet the price of provisions was not raised, everything being sold as before. There were plenteous supplies of Rhenish, Gascon, and Angevin wines, "pullena" and wild fowl, oats, and hay. The foreigners created a bad feeling among the citizens and the English soldiery by their haughty and overbearing ways, and a serious sequel occurred.

**The Great York Brawls.**—On Trinity Sunday, a great feast was held at the House of Friars Minors, where the young King lodged. Edward was attended

by five hundred and fifty knights, and Isabel, the Queen-Mother, by sixty ladies of rank. The entertainments were on a most lavish scale, and in the evening "a most gallant ball" was held. During its progress, the gay festivities were disturbed by hideous street noises. A brawl was astir between the English archers and the Hainault retainers. The latter were worsted, and many of them slain. With difficulty the rioters were induced by their commanders to return to their respective quarters. In the night, the Hainaulters, "thinking more of revenge than of sleep," and inducing their captains to lead them, arose stealthily, and, mobilizing, fell furiously on the encampment of the archers of Lincoln and Northampton, and slew numbers of them. Eighty Lincoln bowmen were buried in one grave in the churchyard of St. Clement's, Fossgate (now demolished). On the morrow, six thousand English archers collected, vowing to kill every man of the aliens; but, by stern measures, the English leaders restored discipline, and the malcontents sulkily retired to their quarters. The strangers kept good watch during the remaining month of their stay, with horses saddled and arms at hand.

**A Futile Chase.**—King Edward and Lord John of Hainault then parted. The latter went back to Flanders to escort his young niece Philippa, whose marriage with the English King had just been arranged. Edward went on an expedition northward. Twenty thousand Scottish light horse had just raided as far as Weardale. "At this time," says the chronicler, "because the English soldiers of this army were clothed all in coats and hoods embroidered all with leaves and flowers very seemly, and used to nourish their beards, the

Scots in derision thereof made a rhyme, which a spy fastened upon the door of St. Peter's Minster, opposite Stonegate, containing this that followeth :—

“Long beards, heartless ; painted hoods, witless ;

Gay coats, graceless ; make England thriftless.”

The young monarch's expedition was futile, for the Scots successfully effected a retreat before him.

**Wedding and Brawl.**—On his return to York, the city's third royal marriage took place. The ceremony was celebrated by Archbishop Melton in the Minster, amid a resplendent scene. Continuous festivities for three weeks followed. Jousts, tournaments, processions, miracle plays, and other pastimes then in vogue occupied the day ; maskings, revels, and national games with song and dance whiled away the nights. The merry occasion was spoiled by a sanguinary renewal of the feud between the English and the Hainaulters. The latter were blamed for setting fire to a suburb of the city, and received from their foes of the previous year a challenge to fight. One Wednesday morn at sunrise, when the city was asleep, the old Roman roadway of Watling-gate was the scene of the fiercest faction fight that Old York had ever known. Hundreds of combatants lost their lives.

**York and “Neville's Cross.”**—In 1346, while Edward III. was absent in France waging the campaign that culminated in Crecy, Queen Philippa was at York again. During her stay, David II. of Scotland raided the North, and actually burnt some of the suburbs of the city. After his departure, the Queen, largely assisted by Archbishop Zouche, quickly got an army together and dispatched it in pursuit. The Scots were surprised and totally beaten at Neville's Cross, near

Durham, and their King was taken captive. At Bootham Bar, amid much ceremony and rejoicing, Queen Philippa received the notable prisoner of war from the hands of her victorious lieutenants. She shortly afterwards conducted him to London.

**“Gramercy, Sire !”**—Richard II. was the last of the mediæval Kings to make York a secondary capital. The Central Courts of Justice were transferred thither for a brief period. He it was who presented a sword to the mayor, William de Selby, and conferred upon him and his successors the title of Lord Mayor. London alone had previously possessed this privilege. At a later visit, Richard added to his former gift a mace and a cap of maintenance. He also granted to the city a new charter embodying additional advantages.

**Historic Decadence.**—Our medley of events fittingly ends with the incoming of the Lancastrian Kings, for henceforth York seems to have lost something of its importance as a seat of royal government and historic ceremony.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### ONE ENGLISH KING AND YORK.

**The Second Edward.**—To illustrate how closely the history of York, in the Middle Ages, was interwoven with the history of England, one reign has been selected for special treatment. In dealing with local history, great attention should be paid to the true proportion of the incidents narrated. They should



never be entirely isolated from national life and the great movements of national history. The reign of Edward II. is chosen for typical treatment.

**Piers, the Gascon.**—Edward I. was one of the weakest and worst kings that ever sat upon the English throne. He was frivolous and without principle, and his reign was a complete failure. He was utterly under the influence of foolish favourites, of whom Piers Gaveston, a Gascon, was the chief. Piers was endowed with all the audacity and wit that made “the Gascon” proverbial. The King could not exist without his delightful friend, and received him after a temporary exile as “a gift from heaven.” All England watched with dismay the rise of the upstart foreigner. He was created Earl of Cornwall, and married the King’s niece. Vast sums of money were bestowed upon him. During the King’s absence from the country he was installed as Regent, and in all ceremonies took rank as the first noble in the realm.

**Folly and Feasting.**—Twice the Gascon favourite suffered banishment, but on each occasion he was recalled. Adversity neither curbed his extravagance, nor blunted the insolence of his wit. His nicknames for the leading nobles were public property. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was “the Hog”; Gloucester was “the Cuckoo”; Pembroke was “Joseph the Jew”; and Warwick was “the Black Dog of Arden.” The Scottish wars were neglected, his father’s ministers were gradually dismissed, and the country became disorganized and factious. In 1310, a Council of Barons determined to take the Government into their own hands. They drew up a large scheme of reform, and insisted upon the perpetual banishment of Gaveston. Matters came

to a head early in 1312. Edward and "his brother Piers" had been spending Christmas at York, and they stayed there several months afterwards. They resided, probably, at the House of Friars Minors, a friary of large extent under the shadow of the Castle walls. Its size, comfort, and contiguity to the fortress made it the customary residence of Royalty in York during the Middle Ages. During their stay, improvements were effected in the defences of the Castle and the walls.

**York and a Man-Hunt.**—The barons and clergy combined against Edward and his favourite, who, on the approach of a considerable array under Lancaster, fled to Newcastle. From thence they eluded their pursuers by a sea voyage from Tynemouth to Scarborough. Gaveston remained there, and defended the Castle with the courage of despair, whilst the King hurried to York to raise a relieving force. In this he was unsuccessful, and Piers, owing to lack of provisions, was obliged to surrender. His captor, "Joseph the Jew," handed him over to the "Black Dog." His fate was then debated, but the words of the proverb, "If you let the fox go, you must hunt him again," decided his destiny. The "Old Hog" supervised his execution at Blacklow Hill, near Kenilworth.

**Before and After Bannockburn.**—About this time the Northern Counties were continually raided and ravaged by the Scots, and many Councils and Parliaments were held at York to discuss Scottish affairs. In 1314, a tremendous effort was made, and Edward marched northward with a large army. Lancaster and his supporters held aloof, and the military incapacity of the King and his advisers led to the crushing

disaster of Bannockburn. This was the greatest victory ever gained by the Scots against England. After his defeat, Edward returned to York, and stayed for several weeks with the Archbishop in his palace near the Minster. While there, Parliament was summoned to York for the purpose of discussing measures to obtain further money and men. The discussion was fruitless. Lancaster for a time became supreme, but matters did not improve. The barons were too exclusive, and ignored the Parliament. It was the old story of "ruling *for* the people, but not *by* the people," and the policy met with no success.

**Dark Days in Northern England.**—The years succeeding Bannockburn were dark years in the North. The whole country was demoralized. The years 1315 and 1316 were unusually rainy, the crops did not ripen, and famine was rife. The Scottish raids continued frequent and unchecked, and on one occasion Ripon paid a thousand marks for immunity. Every male habitant of Yorkshire, from sixteen to sixty, was summoned to arms. Many of them collected into marauding bands, and helped "the Scottish locusts" in the work of ruin. The King was often in York during these years of stress and strain.

**Royalty Resident in York.**—In 1316, both King and Queen were for some time resident in the House of Friars Minors. It is recorded that a considerable sum of money was paid by His Majesty to the House-Warden of the Friary for the re-building of the river-wall, and that he also disbursed £2 per week for lodging, the Royal party providing their own maintenance. In 1318, a Parliament, which sat in session for fifty-one days, was held in York. The King also held

in the city a review of a local levy consisting of five thousand men, and intended for action against the free-booting bands. In 1319, the Rolls of the Exchequer, the Pipe Rolls, and Domesday Book were brought down to York in carts.

**A Scottish Foray.**—In the same year a typical Scottish inroad took place. Under Randolph, Earl of Moray, the Scots harried Yorkshire, and advanced rapidly to York, hoping to surprise it and capture Queen Isabel, who was staying there. The Archbishop, William de Melton, assumed command of the city, the gates were shut, and the watch-towers manned with men-at-arms and archers. Soon after, the Scots appeared at the Marygate, and demanded the surrender of the city. On this being refused, recognizing that the city could only be taken by a long siege, they contented themselves by shouting derisive taunts and insults at the defenders, and withdrew.

**The Chapter of Myton.**—"More from the indignity of the affront than for any hope of success" in the open field, it was determined to follow them. This policy was very foolish, because the number of professional soldiers in the Archbishop's contingent was small. The rest were monks and priests; merchants, tradesmen, and apprentices; and husbandmen from the adjoining hamlets and manors, armed with rakes and hoes. "The army was much fitter to pray for the success of a battle than to fight it." Along the banks of the Ouse the nondescript array hurried, and came up with the Scots, who were plundering and burning at the village of Myton. Tired from their long march, and discommoded by the smoke from the flaming hayricks, the gallant men of York, nevertheless, flung them-

selves manfully upon the invaders. "The wind was due north that day, and the smoke from the burning ricks blew full into the faces of the Archbishop's army," as, blinded and half-choked and wholly weary, they strove strenuously to make their way through the fire. The fight, however, was very one-sided. Within an hour, four thousand Yorkshiremen lay dead upon the field, among whom was Nicholas the Fleming, the Lord Mayor. His body was honourably buried in St. Wilfred's Church, now no longer existent. The crozier of Archbishop Melton, who narrowly escaped capture, was afterwards recovered from a ditch. The loss of the Scots was trifling. This battle, on account of the number of clerics in surplices who took part in it, has been nicknamed "The White Battle." The Scots in derision named it "The Chapter of Myton." There was little occasion for scorn or mockery. Hundreds of men ignorant of the ways of warfare, in one of the darkest days of our history, died like heroes for their motherland.

**The Battle of Boroughbridge.**—Three years later, the Earl of Lancaster, who had so often thwarted and resisted his Royal cousin, paid the penalty of his misdeeds. Along with the Earl of Hereford and other barons, he made an attempt to depose Edward altogether. Retreating towards Scotland so as to give the rising a chance to mature, he was intercepted at Boroughbridge by Sir Andrew Harclay and his Border levies, hardened by years of skirmishing against Robert Bruce. Vain was the attempt of the rebels to make the passage of the Ure. English soldiers, for the first time, applied against their own countrymen the Scottish system of fighting. Harclay dismounted

his knights and men-at-arms, adopted the square formation for his pikemen, and relied mainly upon his archery to ward off attack. These tactics gained the day for the Borderers. Hereford was slain, and Lancaster made captive. The great Northern Earl was beheaded beneath the walls of his own castle at Pontefract. Bareheaded as a thief, mounted on an old lame nag, pelted with mud by the populace, "the troubler of the kingdom" passed to his doom. He is said to have once been popular in the North, where he was regarded as a champion of liberty, but, to the eye of the modern historian, he was sadly lacking in true patriotism.

**A Braver Showing.**—In the following year Edward spent most of his time at York. The death of Lancaster encouraged him to embark on a bolder policy. The decrees against the Le Spencers, who had succeeded Gaveston in his affections, were annulled, and their offices and lands were restored. The "Ordinances"—laws enacted by the barons—were revised. A large subsidy was raised, and an army got together to cope with the Scots, who were again ravaging the Borderland with ruthless severity. After months of preparation, all was in readiness. Thousands of English marched northward with bristling spears, gay pennons, and hopes revived. They failed, however, to engage their slippery foe, and the sole spoil of war, we are told, from the Border to near Edinburgh, was one lame bull. One of the veterans of Edward I.'s wars gibed, "By my faith, I never saw dearer beef."

**Raiders at Rievaulx.**—Threatened with famine, the army began their homeward march to York. Thousands died on the way from disease, and the Scots

under Moray and Douglas hovered in pursuit. The English had neared their destination, and were encamped on the hills near Rievaulx (or Byland, as some say), before the Scots struck home. King Edward was dining in the Abbey with his captains and courtiers, when the din of battle broke out on the outskirts of the encampment. Swarming from the hollows of the hills, the wild Scottish kernes threw themselves upon their surprised foes with splendid dash and activity. Utter rout and confusion followed. Hundreds of English knights surrendered, among them being their leader, the Earl of Richmond. The luckless King had barely time to mount a speedy steed and haste away before the Abbey courtyard was filled with northern raiders, shouting their weird war-cries. Five hundred Scottish spearmen followed in his wake, and he had scarcely gained the city when his pursuers appeared before the walls. After making a demonstration, they retired to their main body which, having broken up Edward's second "armada," withdrew triumphantly northward.

**The Shameful Ending.**—In 1323, the Peace of Berwick was concluded with the Scots, and in the same year, Edward left York never to return. The whole country continued to throb with intrigue and disaffection, and four years later he was dead. The Queen herself, shameful to relate, was a sharer in the plot that deposed her broken husband, and left him an unhonoured corpse in "Berkeley's towers."



## CHAPTER XVII.

## PLAGUE AND PESTILENCE IN YORK.

**Old-Day Diseases.**—Living in days when the conditions of good health are the subject of study and of care, we can scarcely understand the part played by pestilence and plague in the social life of olden times. Some of these pestilences were of native origin, and were largely due to the famines caused by failure of crops and loss of cattle in bad seasons. Others, infinitely more mortal, swept across the Continent from far-off Egypt or China, and invaded Britain, thinning the population of whole districts in most alarming fashion.

As far back as the seventh century, one of these epidemics was described by the Venerable Bede, the Monk of Wearmouth. It entered *Englaland* in the south, and traversed northward to Northumbria. Bede was a boy at this time, and recalled the fact that it was his childish treble alone that sustained the Abbot in the antiphones and responses. Some eight famine-pestilences are recorded from that time to the Conquest, and they mostly followed in the wake of war. The raids of the Danes inevitably brought hunger and disease in their train.

**“The Wasting of the North.”**—The famine-pestilence that ensued after the “Harrying of the North” by the Conqueror is recorded in some detail by both Simeon of Durham and Roger of Howden. The latter gives the following graphic account:—“So sore a

famine prevailed that, driven by hunger, men ate human flesh, and that of horses, dogs, and cats, and whatever was horrible to the minds of civilized men. Some went so far as to sell themselves for evermore into slavery, if only they could in some way or other keep themselves alive. Others, leaving their native land to go away into exile, worn and exhausted, died in the midst of the journey. It was terrible to behold human corpses rotting in the houses, in the streets, and on the highways. All the people having been cut off, either by sword or famine, or else through hunger having left their country-side, there were not sufficient folk left to bury the dead. Thus, during a period of nine years, did the land, deprived of its tillers, extend far and wide an utter waste. Between York and Durham, there was not one inhabited town. The dens of wild beasts and the lairs of robbers, to the sheer terror of the wayfarer, alone were to be seen."

**"Famine-Pestilences."**—Famine-pestilences were quite common in early times, and we might quote other northern instances occasioned by Scottish raids or lean harvests. In the reign of Richard I., there was a terrible example caused by failure of corn crops. It is described by William of Newburgh, whose monastery was situated among woods by the side of a stream under the Hambleton Hills. "After crowds of poor had died on all sides of want, a most savage plague ensued, as if from air corrupted by dead bodies. This pestilence showed but little respect even for those who had abundance of food; as to those in want, it put an end to their long agony of hunger. The disease crept about everywhere, always of one type, namely that of an acute fever. Daily it seized so many, and finished

so many more, that there were scarcely to be found any to tend the sick or bury the dead. The rites of burial were omitted, except in the case of some nobler or richer person ; at whatever hour anyone died, the body was forthwith committed to the earth, and in many places great trenches were made for the collective burying of numbers. Even those who survived fell into low spirits, and went about with pale faces, themselves the living picture of death."

**The Black Death.**—In the year 1348, a new and terrible plague visited England. Men called it the "Black Death." It began in China, probably owing to the corruption of unburied corpses after terrible sieges and battles. The latent germs of it, borne in bales of merchandise, gradually swept over the Continent of Europe. From the manuscripts of Le Baker, a clerk of Oxford, and Friar John Clyn of Kilkenny, we get some notion of its symptoms. Swellings, like carbuncles and boils, rapidly developed over the victim's body, accompanied by small, dark blotches. Sometimes the disease led to "a passion of the head," a sort of madness ; in many cases, profuse vomiting of blood occurred. The progress of the plague was exceedingly swift. It began in Dorsetshire in August, and attacked London by November. In the following year it raged at York from Ascension Day to the end of July. The attack was sometimes fatal in twelve hours, and usually within three days. To be hale one day and in the grave the next was no uncommon occurrence. Whole villages and hamlets were left desolate, and in the towns, hundreds of tenements, both great and small, were left empty and fell to ruin.

**Much Mortality.**—William of Malmesbury computes

that "one-fifth of the men, women, and children in all England were consigned to the grave." Most monastic chroniclers, however, state that only a tenth part of the people were left alive. The truth, probably, is that, of the existing population of England, estimated at four millions, the mortality was quite one-half. At the Yorkshire Abbey of Meaux, in Holderness, forty monks and lay brethren out of fifty died in one month, and the greater part of the tenants on the Abbey lands died also. From some documents in the Minster Library called "Torr's Manuscripts," the extent of the mortality in York and neighbourhood may be inferred. In the archdeaconry of the West Riding, there were ninety-six death vacancies in 1349, leaving only forty-five parishes in which the priest had survived. In the East Riding, sixty incumbents died out of ninety-five parishes. Another inference that may safely be made is that the clergy of that day showed great self-sacrifice and devotion in attempting to cope with the dread contagion.

**The Plague in York.**—There were several recurrences of the Black Death, and in 1391 it was especially severe at York. No fewer than eleven thousand persons are said to have been victims ; but this is obviously an exaggeration, as, for the poll-tax of fourteen years before, only 7,248 persons were taxed. The tax was levied on every person, male or female, above the age of fourteen years. On this basis, the estimated population of York, at the time of this great mortality, would be about fifteen thousand persons. Undoubtedly, however, the deaths were very numerous, and the population of the city was seriously lessened. Again in 1485, from the Council records, we find that the plague was

prevalent. The leading citizens had gone into the country to escape its ravages, and were recalled by resolution of the Council on account of the impending crisis caused by the landing of Henry Tudor.

**The Results of the Plague.**—The mediæval plague had very wide and far-reaching effects. Labour became exceedingly scarce, and consequently wages increased. Men, who in the reign of Edward III. had earned threepence a day by working on the land, demanded sixpence a day after the plague-time. It was similar with artisans. Thus land-owners and master-craftsmen found themselves in serious difficulty, and the King came to the rescue. Laws were put forward, fixing wages as they had been before the Black Death. These attempts to interfere with the natural law of "supply and demand" met with failure. Wages did increase, and, after a great revolt of the serfs, partly on account of these statutes affecting labourers, the condition of the workers gradually improved. Previously they had been in many cases slaves, mere chattels of the land. After the Black Death, forced labour and bond-service broke down. The death-blow of slavery had been struck, and the poorest class of workers obtained personal liberty.

**Mediæval Leprosy.**—Another dreadful disease of the Middle Ages was leprosy. It was a much more terrible scourge than the plague. The plague killed quickly, and the sufferers' pangs were soon over; leprosy was a living death, it was incurable, it meant prolonged and increasingly horrible torments. As the disease was contagious, the leper became an outcast; he had to eat alone, live alone, and die alone. He wore a coarse grey gown as a distinctive dress, and was

obliged to carry a bell or clapper so that passers-by might keep their distance. His incessant cry of warning was "Unclean! unclean!" He was not permitted to enter a church, but a small chamber was made outside and a hole put in the wall so that he might hear the service. In some of our old churches these "leper windows" are still to be seen, as, for example, in the Church of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate.

**Lazar-Houses.**—Lepers were a favourite object of religious care during the Middle Ages. They were called "Christ's Poor," and special hospitals, called "lazar-houses," were provided for their care. The word "lazar" is derived from the name of Lazarus, who, through some confusion with the leper in the parable of Dives, came to be regarded as the patron saint of lepers. Archbishop Thurstan, after the Battle of the Standard, founded a leper-hospital at Ripon for all the lepers of Richmondshire, provision being made for eighteen patients. The greatest leper-house in England, that at Sherburn, near Durham, was founded largely with moneys left by an Archbishop of York. York itself contained lazarus-houses. There was one outside Walmgate Bar, dedicated to St. Nicholas; another just outside Fishergate Bar, dedicated to St. Helen; a third, St. Katharine's lazarus-house, on the Mount; and a fourth, St. Loy's Hospital, near Monk Bridge.

There is no doubt, however, that the prevalence of mediæval leprosy has been much exaggerated. The history of those times comes largely from monastic sources, and the monks would be disposed to dwell unduly upon the religious and charitable aspects of life. The lazarus-houses frequently contained no lepers,

as, for example, was the case with Ripon, at the time of an inquisition by Edward III. Further, many of the leper-hospitals provided by their charters for a majority of non-leper patients, and many of the inmates also were wrongly classed as leprous, when suffering merely from sores, eruptions, and tumours.

**The Cause of Leprosy.**—The main cause of leprosy was corrupt food. The eating of semi-putrid fish was especially conducive to the disease. The salted flesh food, often badly cured, was also dangerous in a secondary degree. It may be pointed out that leprosy is prevalent to-day among tribes that have acquired a taste for fish in a semi-putrid state.

**“The Sweating Sickness.”**—A hitherto unknown disease was introduced into this country, when Henry Tudor landed in Wales with his foreign mercenaries in 1485. It became known as the “English Sweat” or “the Sweating Sickness,” and was probably a sort of influenza. It consisted of a violent fever, accompanied by great internal disorder, utter prostration, and heavy sleep. It gained its name from the profuse perspiration, which flowed from the body in streams. There were, in different parts of the country, five outbursts of it within sixty-six years. The malady that was so fatal at York in 1551 was almost certainly an example of it. This was its last appearance in the country.

**The Stuart Plague.**—Most people are familiar with the events of the Great Plague of London in the reign of Charles II. York had a similar visitation in the year 1604. The markets were closed, the Courts were adjourned to Ripon and Durham, and the Minster and its precincts were forbidden ground. The infected were housed in booths on Hobmoor and the Horsefair.



The number of victims is stated by Francis Drake, the York historian, to have been 3,512. The plague was bubonic, like the Black Death—that is, it showed itself in swellings and plague-spots.

**Plagues Fostered by Filth.**—These plagues ceased in this country in the seventeenth century. They had been fostered by filthiness. People began to pay more attention to good food, pure air, and cleanly habits and dwellings. The health of the nation in general, and that of York in particular, began to improve notably in the eighteenth century.

**“ The Year of Cholera.”**—Near the Railway Station is a reminder of a comparatively modern epidemic. The little burial-ground, preserved and enclosed close by, contains the remains of the victims of a cholera visitation. Asiatic cholera visited our shores for the first time in 1831, and the following year, the year of the first Reform Bill, has become known as the “ Year of Cholera.” There were fifty thousand deaths from it in the British Isles, and York’s contribution to the death-roll was one hundred and eighty-five.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### MAINLY ABOUT A YORK ARCHBISHOP.

**Told in the Far Ridings.**—Henry IV., the first of the Lancastrian kings, found himself largely occupied in making good his disputed title. History tells us that his ejected predecessor was probably murdered in Pontefract Castle, but that the precise date and

mode of his death are both wrapped in mystery. Early in the usurper's reign, however, up and down the far ridings went the story that the son of the glorious Black Prince was dead. At the marts and in the taverns of York the tale was told that the King had murdered him.

**A Rebel Syndicate.**—Trouble arose on every hand. Scarcely had Henry crushed the Scots in the Cheviots, and hanged some of his captives in York, than a most formidable rising took place in England. Those paladins of the North, the Percys, to whom Henry owed his throne, turned against the man they had befriended. The Douglas from the Scottish Border, the Glendower from the Welsh Marches, hastened to the death-hunt. The sequel was surprising. The rebel syndicate was hopelessly beaten at Shrewsbury, and Hotspur, the hope of the Percys, slain on the field. Well did Henry know the centre of disaffection. The head of the fallen leader was sent to York to be exposed in ghastly warning on the Bar of Micklegate. For three years rebellion simmered in the North, and then began to seethe.

**A Bold Archbishop.**—The climax came in 1405, when Archbishop Scrope preached in York Minster a daring sermon against a king whose crown was won by perjury and murder. The Archbishop had taken part in the ceremony of Henry's crowning upon the sole condition that his royal prisoner should be spared. The King was forsworn, his captive a corpse. "Such deeds," said the bold prelate in ringing tones, "should not be wrought by men who govern England." Articles denouncing "the mischiefs and misgovernances of the realm," were framed by the Archbishop, and placed

upon the gates of the city. "They were also sent to the curates of the towns about, to be preached openly." Far and wide went the summons to arms.

**The Tryst on Shipton Moor.**—Twenty thousand men responded to the call. The Archbishop marshalled them on Shipton Moor, a few miles from the city. The Percy tenantry of Topcliffe and Beverley were there, the Lord Mowbray, and many another gallant knight. Under a shrewd and worldly-wise leader, the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ might have been borne to victory, and the throne of Henry have tottered to its fall. But such was not to be.

**Westmorland's Lure.**—Making into modern mode the words of a chronicler of the period, we thus learn of the Archbishop's undoing. "The Earl of Westmorland came against them with another host, sent from the King to take them; and when they were nigh together, the Earl prayed the Archbishop and the Lord Mowbray that they might speak together, and treat of peace. They went to the Earl, and the Earl had there bottles of wine and made them drink. Then, whilst feigning to treat, a knight of his rode to the Archbishop's host, and said that the lords were agreed, and that in token thereof they drank together; and therefore the Archbishop commanded every man to go home again, 'for I shall this night sup with the Earl.' The Archbishop's men were afraid; for there was a little hill between the Archbishop and them, so that they could see neither him nor the Earl. Nevertheless, they thought what the knight said to be true, and went their way and were dispersed. When the knight returned again to the company, the Earl and he, with their host, forthwith fell upon the Archbishop

and Lord Mowbray, and took them and led them to the King at Pontefract. After this, the King came to York, and the citizens came out bareheaded and ungirt, with halters about their necks, and fell down before the King, asking for mercy and grace."

**"Sweet Pity, Sire !"** Scrope and the other leaders were condemned to summary execution. Many powerful pleas were put forward on behalf of the Archbishop, Sir William Gascoigne, the famous Lord Chief Justice, boldly saying to the King, "Neither you, my lord, nor any of your subjects can lawfully sentence any Bishop to death." The Archbishop of Canterbury urged, "Sire, I am your ghostly father, and the second person of the realm, and ye should accept no man's counsel sooner than mine, if it be good. I counsel you that if the Archbishop of York have trespassed so much against you, as it is said, reserve him to the Pope's judgment, and he will so ordain that ye shall be pleased ; and if ye will not so, I counsel let him be reserved to the judgment of Parliament, and keep your hands undefiled from his blood." But Henry was pitiless.

**The Great Archbishop.**—Scrope, Mowbray, and Sir William Plumpton were sentenced to death at Bishopthorpe. They were conducted to a field belonging to Clementhorpe Nunnery, a short distance without Skeldergate Postern, and there executed. The Archbishop rode to his death in a blood-coloured garment on a sorry nag, singing a psalm. At the place of execution, he said to the headsman, "My Lord forgive thee, as I forgive thee !" His last words were, "Into Thy hands, most sweet Jesu, I commend my spirit." Such was the impressive and picturesque

passing of the Great Archbishop. His death caused rebellion to smoulder in the North for many years. His repute for sanctity attracted hosts of pilgrims to his shrine.

**The Royal Vengeance.**—The city of York did not escape the royal vengeance for its share in Scrope's rebellion. We read that "the King thinned the inhabitants, and took away much treasure ; trials, executions, pains, penalties, and grievous fines followed." Hotspur's aged and stricken father, the Earl of Northumberland, took no part in the rising. Probably he had intended to do so, but the impatient spirit of the prelate led to the movement being premature. The Earl did, however, take the field a few years later, but the memory of the former failure lingered, and his rising was a fiasco. After his fall in the fight on Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster, further severities in York ensued.

**Henry V.**—Henry V., the hero of Agincourt, had few associations with the northern capital. He nipped a revolt in the bud before sailing to France, and issued to the Lord Mayor of York a mandate to seize and confiscate the estates and effects of Lord Scrope of Masham, one of the rebels. Scrope's head accompanied the mandate, and was affixed on Micklegate Bar. Six years later Henry and his French queen, Katharine, passed through York in a royal progress. They were on their way to kneel at the shrine of St. John of Beverley.

**War Wanes and Waxes.**—In the later days of Henry VI., York again came into historic prominence. The red tide of war for its possession ebbed and flowed ; proud Neville and fierce Clifford in turn stalked its streets ; and its citizens saw and heard the flaunting pennons and the blaring trumpets of both the rival roses.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## YORK AND THE CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS.

**The Great York Holiday.**—A notable feature of York life in the Middle Ages was the Pageant Play of Corpus Christi, or the Blessed Sacrament. It was held annually on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, and was for about three hundred years the great holiday of the year. The festival generally fell in June, a most suitable time for open-air display, and attracted a great concourse of people.

**The Corpus Christi Pageant.**—The pageant was not in priestly hands, as might be supposed, but was undertaken by the various guilds of artificers in the city, and was controlled by the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty. Nearly sixty different subjects were comprised in the York cycle of plays at the Corpus Christi Festival, and each trade-company had its special representation allotted to it. Many of the chosen scenes were most appropriate for their respective players. For example, the shipwrights depicted "the Building of the Ark," and the fishmongers and mariners, "Noah's Ark during the Flood"; the goldsmiths delineated "the Oblation of the Three Kings from the East," and the taverners or inn-keepers, "the Turning of Water into Wine at Cana." "The Last Supper" was the pageant of the bakers. The subject of the earliest English dramatic play on record, "the Harrowing of Hell" was included in the York Cycle, and was played by the saddlers.

**Old-Time Mystery-Plays.**—These religious dramas



were generally called "miracle-plays." Properly speaking, the term should be restricted to themes based on the life of some popular saint. The plays culled directly from the Bible story, as were most of the York plays, should be named "mystery-plays." A "cycle"



A MYSTERY PLAY.

of plays began with the Creation and concluded with the End of the World, dealing mainly with the chief events of the Old and New Testament narratives. In some places Whitsun and Christmas were more popular times for these displays. Throughout all England their vogue was universal.



**The Meaning of "Pageant."**—The word "pageant" was used to denote not only the play, but also the stage upon which it was shown. An eye-witness, who saw these plays as they were dying out, writes :—"Every trade-company had its pageant or part, which pageants were a high scaffold with two rooms, a higher and a lower, upon four wheels. In the lower they apparelled themselves, and in the higher room they played, being all open on the top that all beholders might hear and see them."

**The York Miracle-Plays.**—Of the York cycle of miracle-plays, forty-eight are still in existence. These are supposed to have been written about 1430-1440, although many of them must have been extant in a crude form quite a hundred years before. Similar cycles of Coventry and Chester have survived.

**A First Record.**—The earliest recorded reference to the York Corpus Christi Festival occurs in the reign of Richard II. "On the 8th of May, 1388, William de Selby, the Mayor, delivered to Stephen de Yolton one hundred shillings, which Master Thomas de Bukton had given for furnishing four torches on the Feast of Corpus Christi." A few years later, the King himself witnessed the Corpus Christi pageants while staying in York.

**The Pageant-Places.**—In 1399 a petition was presented to the Council by the citizens of York, asking that the places in which the pageants were played should be restricted in number, "owing to the loss and annoyance of the citizens and strangers." Consequently the pageant-places were fixed as twelve, and may be summarized as follows :—

1. The Gate of Holy Trinity Priory in Micklegate.

2. The North Street end of Skeldergate.
- 3, 4, 5. Different stations in Coney Street.
- 6, 7, 8. The doors of three principal citizens.
9. The end of Jubbergate.
10. The Gate of the Minster.
11. Petergate.
12. The Pavement.

Every pageant-place had a pageant being played at one and the same time. The pageants were moved on to other stations in regulated succession.

**By Order of the Council.**—Later, the city Council decided “that it was inconvenient and contrary to the profit of the city that the plays should be played every year in the same places and no others,” and ordered “that those persons should be allowed to have the plays before their houses who would pay the highest price for the privilege, but that no favour should be shewn, the public advantage of the whole community being only considered.” It is evident from this that the Corporation let certain localities as suitable stands for the plays. Furthermore, these stands, in many cases, were staged and sublet at a profit to concourses of spectators. “The gate-money principle” here introduced may have led to some of the abuses connected with the Festival that caused priestly censure and public disrepute.

**The Corpus Christi Guild.**—About the beginning of the fifteenth century, a religious fraternity was founded in York, called the Corpus Christi Guild. It was instituted to try and restore some of the religious sentiment that had become endangered by the somewhat crude and coarse pageant plays of the trade-guilds. The brethren organized a most solemn procession, the

Sacrament being borne in a shrine through the city. They also endeavoured to secure an orderly and regular attendance at the churches during festival time.

**"A Friar of Orders Grey."**—A famous preacher of the Grey Friars, and an expert in religious plays, visited York early in Henry VI.'s reign. In several passionate sermons he commended the Corpus Christi play to the people, affirming that "it was good in itself, and highly praiseworthy, yet citizens and others (strangers visiting the city not for the 'play' alone) joined in revellings, drunkenness, clamour, singing, and other improprieties, little regarding the divine offices of the day." He therefore persuaded the people of the city "that the play should be on one day, and the procession on another, so that the people might attend divine service at the churches, and receive the benefit of the indulgences, graciously conceded by Pope Urban IV. to those who duly attended the religious services appointed." The subsequent ordinance directed the observance of two great holidays—Corpus Christi Day for the pageant, and the following day for the religious procession.

**The Corpus Christi Procession.**—The procession of the Corpus Christi Guild assembled at the great gates of the Holy Trinity Priory in Micklegate. Close to the Bar was the guild-house of the brotherhood known as St. Thomas' Hospital. The clergy of the city in their surplices walked first. The Master of the Guild, invested with a silken cope, was the central figure. He was supported by two Past-Masters, and "attended by the six Keepers of the Guild, with silk stoles round their necks and white wands in their hands." The costly shrine, made of silver-gilt and deco-

rated with a profusion of jewels and enclosing a vase of beryl, in which the sacred elements were deposited, was borne in the midst by the Chaplain of the Guild. Singers attended to chant the proper services of the day, and the procession was accompanied by the usual display of crosses, banners, tapers, and torches. After the ecclesiastics came the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and other members of the Corporation in their robes of ceremony, attended by the City Officers and a company of torch-bearers. Then followed the officers and members of the numerous craft-guilds or trade-companies of the city with their banners and torches, taking their places according to a prescribed order of precedence. All householders that dwelt along the route of the procession were required "to hang before their doors and forefronts beds and coverings-of-beds of the best," and to place before their doors "rushes and other such flowers, strewing as they think honest and cleanly for the honour of God, and the worship of this city." The Cathedral was the destination of the procession; and a special sermon was preached there. Afterwards the Blessed Sacrament was deposited at the St. Leonard's Hospital, a splendid monastic institution dating from the days of Athelstan, and known before the times of Stephen as St. Peter's Hospital.

**A Craftsmen's Quarrel.**—The various crafts were very jealous of their rights in respect of both the pageants and the procession of Corpus Christi. A curious instance of this is furnished by a quarrel which arose between the Company of the Weavers and the Company of the Cordwainers as to which was entitled to walk on the right hand in the Corpus Christi procession.

The dispute lasted some years, and the Cordwainers on occasion absented themselves entirely from the ceremony, and refused to pay the fines incurred. The quarrel was finally settled by Henry VIII.'s appointing William Sever, Lord Abbot of St. Mary's, to act as arbiter. Although the City Fathers were very loth to allow any interference with their liberties and franchises, yet they agreed to accept the Abbot's judgment; especially as he tactfully argued that he was simply carrying out the royal commands, and that sooner than infringe any of their privileges, "he would take a thousand pounds from the treasury of his monastery, and cast it down the waters of the Ouse." The Cordwainers were adjudged to be in the wrong, and ordered to take up their position on the Weavers' left hand.

**"Credo" and "Pater-noster" Plays.**—Although the Corpus Christi Guild was not permitted to interfere with the management of the pageants, yet it possessed a play of its own. The "Credo Play" was occasionally performed in the city at Lammas-tide, under the direction of the brethren. A representation was given of the various events mentioned in the Creed, and it should be noted that the "Pater-noster Play"—similarly delineating the Lord's Prayer, and belonging to St. Anthony's Hospital—was substituted in the declining years of the trade companies for the "mystery plays."

**A Last Record.**—The last reference to the Corpus Christi play on the York Corporation minutes bears the date of 1580, and a spectacle in lieu thereof, named "Midsummer Show," put forward by John Grafton, schoolmaster, died an early death in 1584.

**Old-Time Pageant Plays.**—The old miracle and mystery plays were a mirror of people's every-day life and conceptions. They seem to us crude, irreverent, and coarse ; but to the mediæval mind, probably, the brutal blasphemy of Cain, and the gibes of Noah's shrewish wife, as she screams and clouts him before being dragged into the Ark, did not appear so profane and foolish as we should imagine. The opposition of the clergy, the decay of the guilds, and the gradual enlightenment of the people led to the fall of these old-time religious dramas. And be it noted that when they ended in York, there dwelt in "Merrie England" a youth of twenty, who was destined to plan other and greater "pageants of delight." It was the dawn of "Sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's Child."

## CHAPTER XX.

### YORK AND THE RIVAL ROSES.

**White Rose and Red.**—The City of York played no mean part in the strenuous struggle for the throne of England that is known to history as "The War of the Roses." It gave its name to one of the rival Houses. "White Rose City" though it be called to-day, it was then a centre and a rally-point of the Red Rose cause. It was also the objective of the two terrible fights at Wakefield Green and Towton Field.

**The Causes of the War.**—Henry VI. was for many years childless, and the main point at issue was regarding his successor. A certain section of nobles

desired the Duke of Somerset, whilst others favoured Richard, Duke of York, whose claim by descent was even stronger than that of the reigning house, and, further, was endorsed by Parliament. The birth in 1453 of a son named Edward did not end these disputes and intrigues. The partisans of Richard of York were determined that he should be Protector during the weak-minded King's lifetime, and also named as heir. They wished to ensure the succession of a strong man after Henry IV.'s crooked ways, Henry V.'s foolish foreign wars, and Henry VI.'s incompetence and favouritism. The brave and strong-minded Queen Margaret, however, was not the woman to permit her son's claim to be put aside without a contest.

**"A Thirty Years' War."**—The War of the Roses was not a mere faction fight between rival dynasties. There were other causes of dissension that led to this "Thirty Years' War." The seething discontent was, to some extent, due to the long drain of the French War, its demoralizing influence, and its final failure. Moreover, Parliament with its new powers was a somewhat premature factor in the situation. Some of the barons began to be viewed as "the weeds of a fair garden which must be mowed down full plainly, to let the pleasant, sweet herbs appear." The central Government lacked the strength to maintain order in the remoter districts, and was frequently in a state of sheer bankruptcy owing to inadequate finances. The King was compelled to live by requisitioning, without payment, goods and means of conveyance. The royal progresses were often occasioned by poverty. As a chronicler quaintly has it, "The King is so poor, that he beggeth from door



to door." This being the case, it is satisfactory to note that York was so hospitable to Henry on one of his visits, that he wrote concerning his welcome:—"All's well, and better than we had ever in our life." Local anarchy was rife. Private wars like those waged in the North by the Percys and the Nevilles, were of common occurrence. The nobles kept huge bands of retainers, who, clad in their liveries and adorned with their badges, seized both lands and goods "by right of might." "Jacquerie"—organized hordes of ruffians—sprang up in many a shire. "The Croyland Chronicle" says, "Paupers and beggars poured forth from all quarters in very great numbers, like so many mice rushing from their holes, and gave themselves up to spoil and plunder without respect of place or person. They broke into the sanctuaries of God, and most wickedly robbed them of their chalices, books, and vestments, slaughtering the faithful of Christ in the very churches and churchyards. Thus they proceeded unpunished, covering the surface of the earth like locusts. All the moveables which they could possibly collect were placed on beasts of burden and carried off. With threats of death, the cruel wretches forced the people to produce their treasures, which they had hidden in remote and obscure spots."

**The Parting of the Parties.**—It is interesting to note the geographical lines of division between the two great Parties. "It was a war of the more populous and more advanced South against the more baronial and wilder North. To some extent, too, it was a class division; townsmen and traders under a few great houses against the bulk of the nobles, gentry, and higher clergy. It may also be represented as a duel between

hereditary right and Parliament ; or between the ideals of absolute and of limited monarchy ; or between a new order and the old feudal and clerical systems." Yorkshire, swayed by the Percys, the Dacres, and the Cliffords, was mainly Lancastrian ; although there were strong Yorkist centres at Middleham, near Leyburn, and at Sandal, near Wakefield. All the North throbbed with the trouble, for the flames of turbulence in Older England were ever there most lightly fanned.

**" Wakefield Green."**—Actual warfare broke out in 1455, and five years later the fighting began to fringe York. Queen Margaret lay at York, "having in her company all the lords of the north part, with eighteen thousand men, or, as some write, twenty and two thousand." The Duke of York meanwhile journeyed down from London by easy stages to his Castle of Sandal, and there, somewhat rashly, held rendezvous with his friends and tenants, until five thousand men were gathered within and without the walls. Then he anxiously awaited the coming of his eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, with the main army from the south, while, thirty miles away, the might of Lancaster made ready for a swift swoop before the junction was effected. When Margaret suddenly appeared on Wakefield Green, within sight of the city's walls, York might still have escaped disaster had he been content to act solely on the defensive, as his friend, Sir Davy Hall, advised him. "A Davy, a Davy," he cried to his captain, "hast thou loved me so long, and now wouldst thou have me dishonoured ? Thou never saw me keep fortress when I was Regent in Normandy, when the Dauphin himself with his power came to besiege me, but like a man and not like a bird shut in a cage, I issued and fought with

mine enemies to their loss ever—I thank God, and to my honour. For surely my mind is rather to die with honour than to live with shame. Of honour cometh fame, and of dishonour ariseth infamy. Therefore advance my banner, in the name of God and Saint George, for surely I will fight with them, though I should fight alone!”

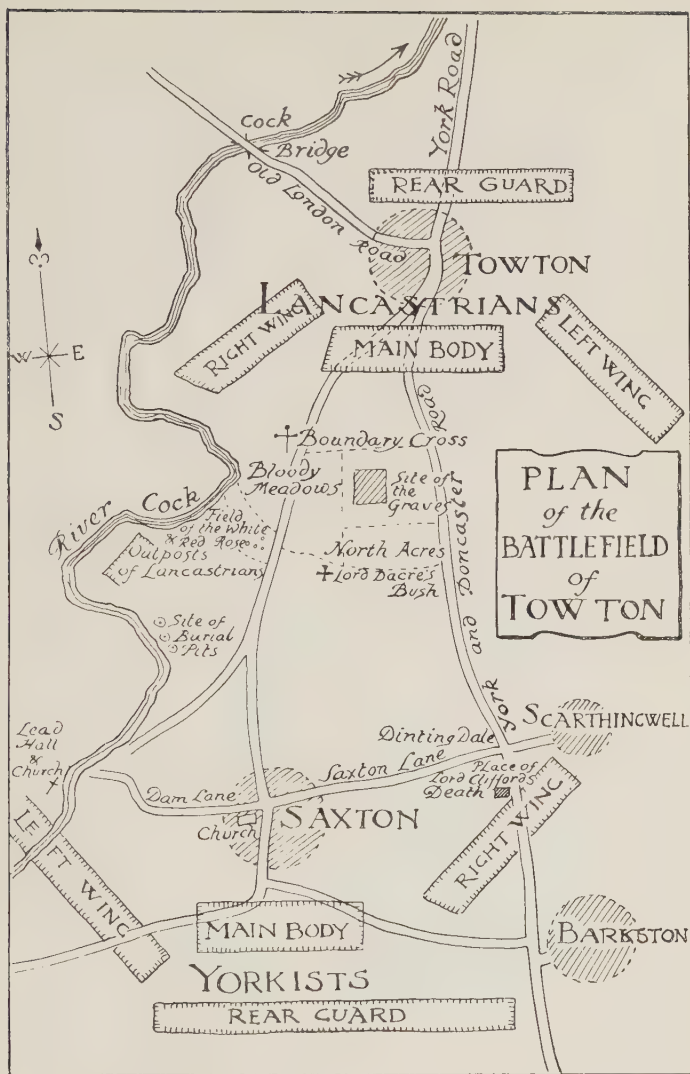
**“York Overlooking York.”**—Soon ensued the clash of arms, and the din of shrieks and war-cries mid which the gallant Duke died fighting. Hundreds of his adherents were slain, and the rest dispersed, the Lancastrians returning in triumph to York. In accordance with the barbarous custom of those times, the head of the great Duke was cut off, crowned in mockery with a coronet of twisted rushes, and spiked on Micklegate Bar. Applying Shakespeare’s words in his play of “Henry VI.,” “Thus did York overlook the town of York.”

**“Butcher Clifford.”**—According to Hall’s *Chronicle*, it was in this battle of Wakefield Green that one of the Lancastrian leaders, Lord Clifford (whose ancestor had built Clifford’s Tower), gained the nickname of “The Butcher.” The Earl of Rutland—the Duke of York’s youngest son, a little lad of twelve—was leaving the battle-field with his chaplain, when Clifford espied him, then followed and took him captive. “By reason of his apparel, he demanded who the boy was. The young gentleman, dismayed, had not a word to speak, but knelt on his knees imploring mercy and desiring grace, both with holding up his hands and making dolorous countenance, for his speech was gone for fear. ‘Save him,’ said his chaplain, ‘for he is a prince’s son, and may peradventure do you good

hereafter.' Lord Clifford thus knew him, and said, 'By God's blood, thy father slew mine, and so will I do thee, and all thy kin!' With that word he struck the Earl to the heart with his dagger."

**Towton Field.**—A few months after "Wakefield Green," there ensued the complementary battle of Towton, perhaps the most bloody struggle ever fought on English soil. It was the turning point of the Wars of the Roses, and decided the successful accession of the York dynasty.

**A Fight at Ferrybridge.**—After a brief foray south, the Lancastrians lay at York, their trysting-place and headquarters, when news was brought that Edward of York, with an army of about forty thousand, was advancing to take vengeance for the slaughter of his sire at Sandal. News travelled slowly in those days, but when his approach was definitely known, the Lancastrian leaders, with an augmented army of sixty thousand followers, marched out of the city through Tadcaster to Towton Heath, a distance of twelve miles. As soon as Edward arrived at Pontefract, he sent a small body of men, under Lord Fitzwalter, to secure the ford across the Ouse at Ferrybridge. Lord Clifford, on learning this, swooped down from Towton with some of his best troops, surprised the out-post, and seized the ford. Fitzwalter himself was among the slain. When the tidings reached the Yorkist main body, Warwick, "the King-maker," was the central figure of a most dramatic scene. Dismounting in front of his soldiers, he stabbed his steed, and, kissing the cross of his sword-hilt, shouted, "Let him flee that will, for surely I will tarry with him that will tarry with me." A frontal attack failed to dislodge



Clifford, but one Yorkist column succeeded in crossing the river, three miles higher up at Castleford.

**Death of Clifford.**—The Lancastrian commander, seeing that he was outflanked and likely to be hemmed in, retreated rapidly towards Towton. An advanced guard of Yorkists, however, intercepted him at Dintingdale, and, after a heroic combat, Clifford fell. When the Yorkist main body arrived, they encamped on the high land behind Saxton village. The Lancastrians were mainly located on a ridge of high land in front of Towton, and the intervening valley was the scene of the ensuing desperate struggle.

**A Strenuous Struggle.**—Both sides decided before the battle that no quarter should be given. The battle began in a driving snow-storm on the dawn of Palm Sunday, 1461. The archers of the Red Rose contingent miscalculated their distance owing to the cutting wind and blinding snow in their faces, and wasted their arrows, whilst the Yorkist bowmen used their weapons with deadly effect. In the hand-to-hand combat that ensued, and that lasted several hours, many thousands fell, and the Lancastrians gradually gave back. Their left wing, foolishly retreating through Towton village, collided with the right wing, and the main body also pouring down the hill, inextricable confusion followed. What might have been a steady retreat became a hopeless rout.

**“ White Rose ” Wins !** All made down the steep banks for the Cock Bridge, the width of which was entirely inadequate. Further, the beck was swollen in flood. Hundreds leaped in, and, owing to the mud, the haste of headlong flight, the steep banks, and the weight of their mail, were unable to get out. Ultimately they



ANCIENT LEAD HALL CHURCH (NEAR TOWTON FIELD).



formed a "bridge of bodies," across which the pursuit passed. Henry and Margaret, with a retinue of fugitives, hurried through Bootham Bar for Scotland, only a few hours before the triumphant Yorkists entered the city by Micklegate Bar.

**"Hob of Holderness."**—A few years later, a local revolt, more agrarian than political, broke out under Robert Hillyard. It was largely occasioned by the burden of the tithes that were levied by St. Leonard's Hospital and other authorized bodies. Thousands of rebellious farmers and peasants clamoured at the very gates of York, and their leader took upon himself the title of Robin, or Hob, Captain of Holderness. The rebellion, however, was quickly suppressed by the King-maker's brothers, and the head of the arch-rebel was displayed on Walmgate Bar as a warning to the disloyal men of the East Riding.

**King and King-maker.**—Not long afterwards, Edward IV. found himself for a short period a fugitive from the country, being driven out by the powerful Neville influence, which he had slighted. Landing again at Ravenspur, the same place at which Henry of Derby (afterwards King Henry IV.) had landed after exile, he pushed on to York. His reception there was far from cordial, in spite of the fact that he avowed "his intent and purpose was only to claim to be the Duke of York." Marching southward, he gradually unmasked his plans, and at Barnet recovered his kingdom. The King-maker, who fell there, had considerable property in Yorkshire, for example, Middleham and Sheriff Hutton Castles. His Yorkshire possessions seem to have devolved upon Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who had married his daughter.

**The Crookback King.**—This Richard of Gloucester later became Richard III., and history and drama have combined to depict him as a ruthless monster. Nevertheless, he was always popular in York. On the several occasions on which he visited it as Prince or King, he was received with genuine rejoicing and general acclaim. Some think that at his state visit in 1483 he underwent a second ceremony of coronation. In any case, however, his son Edward and the Spanish Ambassador were knighted in the Minster under circumstances of great pomp. Richard abolished “murage” and other tolls, and also remitted the fee-farm rent of the city. There were “stage-plays, tournaments, and other triumphant sports” in connection with his visit. When the news of his death at Bosworth, the final fight of the Rival Roses, reached York, it was recorded in the “House-Book” of the city as having taken place to the “great heaviness” of the citizens. When, in public company, the schoolmaster of St. Leonard’s Hospital averred that “King Richard was a hypocrite, a crookback, and buried like a dog in a dike,” the general voice of the York citizens gave him the “lie direct.”

## CHAPTER XXI.

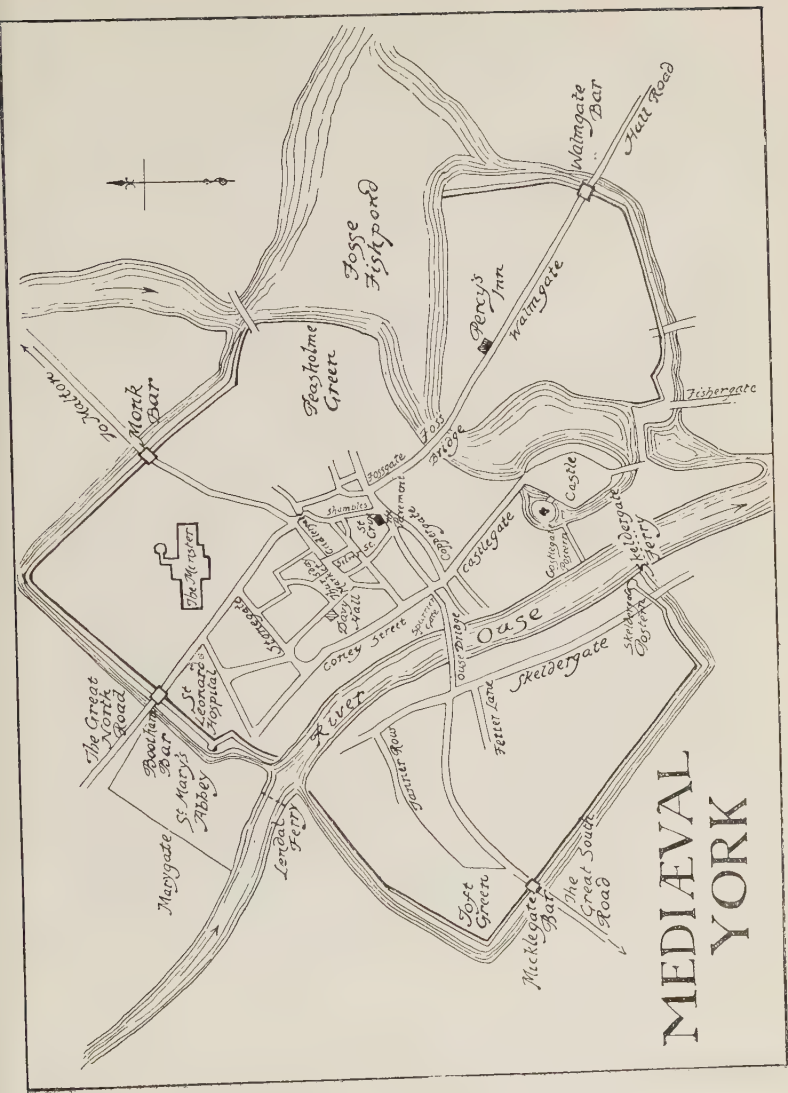
### THE PAGEANT OF MEDIÆVAL YORK.

**The Curtain Rises.**—A very picturesque aspect would be presented to the eye by the sights and scenes of mediæval York. It was girt by war-worn walls and battlements, pierced by a tidal river commanded

on the southward by two frowning castles, still fringed here and there by extensive woodlands. It was approached by wider streets outside the walls, and its chief entrances were the Bars.

**The York Bars.**—These were square towers with embattled turrets, taking the place of the previous stone gateways, which they frequently incorporated. They were built and strengthened during the Norman and Plantagenet periods, and were kept in repair by “murage” tolls charged chiefly upon merchandise entering the city by road or river. Barbicans were added in the reign of Edward III., and one of these exists to-day in connection with Walmgate Bar, a unique relic of mediæval days. Each gateway possessed a protecting drop-gate or “portcullis,” examples of which remain at the Bootham and Walmgate Bars. There were no side arches till comparatively recent times.

**Ways for the Wayfarer.**—From the great South Road, wayfarers entered the city by Micklegate Bar, the most imposing and the most important of York’s gateways. In the stirring days of old, it was, more than all others, associated with the Pageantry of War, with Royal Progresses, Civic Processions, and other Incidents of Circumstance. The corresponding outlet to the great North Road was Bootham Bar, in the exterior street of which the “booths” of chapmen were frequently erected at fair-times. The Malton Road was guarded by Monk Bar, the loftiest of the York Bars. It was almost certainly so named because of a religious house in its near neighbourhood. Walmgate (“the Wall-gate”) was the approach from Hull, and was built in times when York was becoming a town



# MEDIAEVAL YORK

of great import in the trade of wool. Other gateways and posterns existed, the latter being especially designed to guard the approaches from the river.

\* \* \* \* \*

**Within the Walls.**—Passing through Micklegate



*Photo by]*

MICKLEGATE BAR.

*[The Photone Co.*

Bar, and entering the maze of sinuous streets with their alleys and purlieus innumerable, the sojourner sees a veritable panorama of towers, spires, turrets,



*Photo by]*

MONK BAR.

*[W. Watson.*

gables, gateways, and archways unfold before his eyes. Ouse Bridge, the only erection over the river, is lined with houses and other buildings so as to form a continuous street. River craft of various sizes abound along the staiths, and there are two busy ferries in the neighbourhood of Lendal and Skeldergate. The way to the right is Castlegate, with numerous water-



WALMGATE BAR (SHOWING BARBICAN).

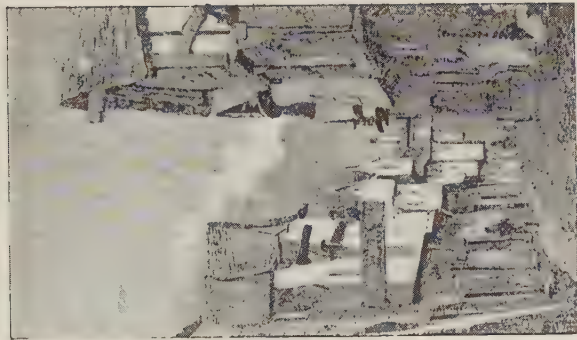
lanes burrowing to the Ouse, and to the left is Conyng Strete (now Coney Street), "the King's Highway."

**Mediaeval Houses.**—Most of the houses are quite narrow, of most varied pattern, and have a peaked gable facing the street. They are chiefly of three stories, each overhanging the other, to the shutting out of sun and air. Timber balks across the street are frequent. The houses are built over arched and vaulted





LOW OUSGATE IN 18th CENTURY  
(LOOKING TOWARDS BRIDGE).



AN OLD WATER-LANE DOWN TO  
THE RIVER.

cellars, having protected steps leading from the street, and there is also a short flight of steps to ascend before reaching their ground floor. Above the cellars the walls are usually of wood, and the timber-and-plaster front towards the street is quaintly and skilfully carved. Large signs, nine or ten feet from the ground, swing above the shops and taverns. There are, however, several stone erections here and there, and in some recently-built houses brick-work begins to make its appearance, often arranged in herring-bone fashion.

**Mediaeval Streets.**—The streets also are narrow. They are roughly paved with huge cobbles, sloping towards the middle so that a gutter is formed. In heavy rains a miniature river flows along the street. At nightfall an occasional torch in a cresset, or fire-pan, lightens the darkness. The open street is a receptacle for refuse, so that plague and pestilence lurk near the open doorways. Some merchants have booths placed out in the street to display their wares, and, in many of the less busy by-streets, the smith, the joiner, the chandler, and other craftsmen may be seen plying their trade in the open. In the Shambles the butcher is killing his beast in front of his shop, and this is adding to the horrors of the gutter.

**Craftsmen's "Corners."**—It will be readily noted that the various crafts have a tendency to congregate in separate localities. Examples of this will be noted in Tanner Row, Fetter Lane (the Lane of the "Felters" or Feltmongers), Fishergate, Spurriergate, Coppergate, the Shambles, and Girdlergate (now Church Street).

**An Old-Time Fair.**—In Thursday Market (now St. Sampson's Square), a great market-fair may be observed in progress round the Market Cross with its



*Photo by]*

*[The Graphophone Co.*

A BIT OF OLD YORK—THE SHAMBLES.

sheltering penthouse. The adjacent booths and stalls are thronged with intending customers. Wool, wine, and corn are commodities that find a ready sale. Here is a farmer from a distant dale replenishing his



[Photo by]

[The Graphotone Co.]

ST. SAMPSON'S SQUARE (THE SITE OF THE OLD THURSDAY  
MARKET).

household stores ; he is buying cloth, iron utensils, leather, tar, and salt. There are two likely lads purchasing new staves for their bows. Beadles and bailiffs are busy testing cloth, examining weights,

and collecting tolls. Fur-gowned noble, steel-capped soldier, portly merchant in plain homespun, peasant in soiled leathern jerkin, craftsman with apron, apprentice with flat cap, friar in gown of gray, or white, or black—all are found in the medley of that motley scene.

**Some Fair-Time Scenes.**—The Church hard by is filled with folk, and on every hand can be heard the loud chaffer of bargaining. The bull-baiting ring is surrounded by a noisy and excited mob. Farther along, on a strip of rough carpet, a juggler and a tumbler alternate their feats. Here a ribald jongleur jingles a merry lay. There pack-horses, in a long line, are giving up their burden of merchandise.

**Some Fair-Time Folk.**—Look at those two lean bullies slinking down Silver Street. They are cut-purses, and may be cut-throats, from the local Alsatia of Marygate. That is a poor beadman from St. Leonard's Hospital, the largest monastic institution in the city. Yon rogue of a student is from the School of St. Peter, near the Minster. Mark those merchants in converse; they are both foreigners. The fat-faced one is a Fleming; he is sojourning in York for the sale of fine wool cloths, holland, diapers, linen and lawn. The dark-eyed trader is from Venice; his cases contain pearls and gems, silks and velvets, and trinkets of metal and glass.

**A Place of Punishment.**—The precincts of the Fair stretch nearly as far as the street called the Pavement, where another Market Cross is in existence. This is the part of the city where public punishment is generally dispensed. Opposite the Church of St. Crux, a scaffold is sometimes erected for the execution of the death-penalty on notable offenders. The whipping-cart stands near Fossgate; hence the expressive name of "Whipma-

whopma-gate." The pillory, the stocks, the capon-call, the thew and the ducking-stool are also on view at intervals. The pillory has an occupant. It is a rascal who has been trying to pass spurious coin. The ducking-stool is being hurried down to the river; its bearers intend to duck a notorious scold near the Castlegate Postern.

**A Motley Medley.**—As he wanders within the walls,



OLD PAVEMENT, 1813.

(*St. Crux Church, now demolished, to the right*).

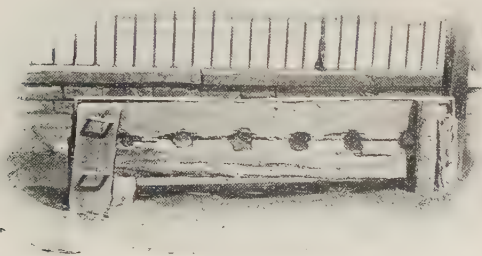
many other sights stay the wayfarer. He dallies at the frequent green spaces. A bout of archery is in progress on Toft Green; on the sward at Peasholme some lasses and lads at leisure are tripping a merry Morris-dance. In front of the great Percy Inn, in Walmgate, a troop of dancing bears are giving delight



to the household. He sees a troop of tired foresters, laden with spoils of the chase from the Forest of Galtres, turning in at the Davy Hall. A procession of monks passing along Stonegate to the Minster, with crucifixes and banners aloft, arrests his footsteps. He lingers a



STOCKS IN HOLY TRINITY CHURCHYARD, MICKLEGATE.



STOCKS IN ST. LAWRENCE'S CHURCHYARD.

while in the yard at the Sign of the Bull in the "King's Highway," listening to the barter and banter of the dealers in horses.

**The Curtain Falls.**—The curtain of night falls on the Pageant of Old York, four hundred years ago!



## CHAPTER XXII.

## THE TRADE AND GUILDS OF YORK.

**Trade after the Conquest.**—The Norman Conquest was for a long time disastrous to towns like York. They pined under the labour (such as Keep-building) exacted from the townsmen and the feudal dues imposed upon them. But when matters became settled, a great growth in trade began. The new government gave some security for inland trade except in the border-lands; commercial intercourse with the Continent developed; foreign craftsmen settled everywhere. The building of castles, cathedrals, and abbeys gave a great impetus to the trades of the mason and the carpenter, and the craftsmen in glass and metal. Coarse woollen stuffs had been made in York before the Conquest, but better material began to be turned out under the influence of more skilful artisans from Flanders. Two Flemish weavers settled in York in William the Conqueror's reign, and others followed at succeeding periods.

**A Royal Charter.**—With the extension of trading, towns sought and obtained from the King certain privileges, which enabled them to have some amount of self-government and some amount of commercial freedom. Probably York and Beverley traders had, soon after the Conquest, obtained freedom from tolls throughout the shire, and in Henry I.'s reign we have a distinct record that the citizens received a royal charter of privileges. York was a part of the royal demesne (that

is, it was a borough held directly from the King), and consequently was peculiarly privileged as regards obtaining favours and franchises. The King was an overlord too remote to have opportunity for much meddling, and was glad, so long as his yearly "fee-farm" was paid, to permit the burgesses to manage



INTERIOR OF THE COURT-ROOM OF THE YORK MERCHANTS' COMPANY, 1891.

their own affairs as much as possible. In this way, he weakened the provincial government of the hundred and the shire, and the influence of the local lords.

**The Merchant Guild.**—In Saxon times, societies of men had been formed for social and religious inter-

course. They were known as *frith-gilds*, or "peace-guilds." But in early Norman times a distinctly new kind of "guild," or association, sprang up. In towns like York, Merchant Guilds were established, consisting of unions of trades for the regulation of trade and for the exclusion of rivals. The Guild officials became the chief men of the town. It was they who obtained for the township a large amount of freedom from the authority of the shire-reeve. It was they who commuted the town's taxes for a fixed sum and also collected them. They imposed their trade by-laws on the whole borough. They had the power to enfranchise serfs. They associated themselves with social, educational, and religious functions. Probably from the Merchant Guilds, which decayed as the Craft Guilds came into existence and gradually obtained power, there naturally sprang up the Corporation, or governing power of the borough. The chief man of the Merchant Guild became the "Mayor," his chief assistants were styled "Aldermen," and the central place of meeting of the Guild was known as the "Guildhall." The machinery of government became available for the benefit of the whole body of citizens.

**The Mediæval Wool Trade.**—Coincident with the growth and sway of the Merchant Guilds, the English wool trade was becoming an increasingly important factor in our commerce. As the English grew more skilful in the making of such woollen cloths as tertian and frieze, serge and buckram, they sent away less raw wool, and manufactured more at home. Still, for a long period, our cloth was distinctly inferior to the fine cloth of Flanders, which was both better woven and better dyed. But although the Flemings

could produce the better cloth, we could grow the better wool, so a great trade grew up between the two countries. Wool was our "staple," or chief product, and it was largely exported to the Continent, where, at certain towns called "staple" towns, it was bought and sold. For example, Bruges was a staple town for many years, and later, Calais, after its capture from France.

**York, a Staple Town.**—With the growth of the wool trade, the English Kings began to see that money could be made by taxing it, and they also made many laws, wise and otherwise, for its management. One of these laws, passed in Edward III.'s reign, was known as "The Ordinance of the Staple." It ordained that the exclusive sale of wool should be assigned to ten English towns, and that each of these towns should have its corresponding port. York was one of these staple towns, and its wool-port was Hull. A similar connection existed between Lincoln and Boston, Norwich and Yarmouth, Westminster and London. By this ordinance, it was hoped, through free competition among foreign merchants visiting this country, to enhance the price of wool, and at the same time to lower the prices of general commodities by attracting a greater volume of imports. Undoubtedly the status and prosperity of certain English towns was greatly increased. Weigh-houses and markets were established in these staple towns, and officers appointed to collect the King's taxes and to see that business was properly and honestly done. York continued to be an important wool-mart well into Tudor times, and Ripon and Beverley were also of some note in the making of woollen stuffs during the same period. The West

Riding of Yorkshire, now the greatest cloth-making district in the world, was then almost without manufactures, and its people were poor and ignorant.

**The Craft Guilds.**—In the fourteenth century, the Merchant Guild, which, as has been said, exercised general supervision over the trades of a town, began to be superseded by the Craft Guilds, which existed to look after the interests of separate and special trades. The former had not sufficient vitality to cope with the rapid growth of industrial interests, and the Craft Guilds assumed the real supervision of trade, which they dominated for about three hundred years. York contained, undoubtedly, more than sixty of these trade-companies, and the ordinances of no fewer than thirty-seven survive to this day. Each craft had its own guild-court and officers, and settled its own disputes and breaches of discipline. The Guild contained three classes of artisans—masters, journeymen, and apprentices—and found employment for all its members.

**Each Trade Defined.**—Every Craft Guild had a monopoly within the limits of its own town, and its sphere of work was strictly defined. Thus the cordwainer, or shoemaker, did not mend shoes, nor did the cobbler make them. The bowyer did not make arrows; the carpenter, who constructed the beams and heavy work of a building, did not infringe upon the lighter and more delicate tasks of the joiner. No fewer than four craftsmen helped in the making of a saddle and bridle. The joiner made the woodwork, which was decorated by the painter; whilst the saddler supplied the leather, and the lorimer the metal

trappings. A remembrance of these old Craft Guilds may be found in the name "Spurriergate," the street of the Spurriers, or spur-makers.

**The Work of the Guilds.**—The Head of a Guild was called the Warden, and other responsible officials were the Searchers. Some of the duties of the latter body were detecting scamped work, searching for false weights, and preventing attempts at underselling. The guild provided many benefits for its poorer brethren. Rarely did a rich craftsman die without leaving a gift of money or land to his guild. In this way pensions and almshouses were founded for the aged and destitute member, the widow and the orphan. Nor must it be forgotten that religion played a prominent part in guild life. Each guild had its patron saint, and often its chapel and chaplain.

**Guild Items of Interest.**—Many interesting facts about the trade and the guilds of Old York can be gleaned from ancient records. A medley of examples may be cited in illustration. In the twelfth century, York weavers had a monopoly of trade in the whole county. In the reign of Henry II., a York shield-maker was heavily fined for selling arms to the King's enemies. In the fourteenth century, the Merchant Guild of York had a territory of 2,700 acres, and all the surrounding villages gathered to its mart and obeyed its trade-laws. Just after the great Peasants' Revolt, York refused to allow any born bondman, whatever his wealth or estate, to receive the freedom of the city. Previously it had been customary to sell the franchise for large sums. In the fifteenth century, the Corporation of York obtained a charter giving them powers "to overlook and maintain the main rivers of



Yorkshire." In the days of Good Queen Bess, York was chiefly noted for coverlet-making.

**The Larger York.**—In discussing the Merchant Guild and Craft Guilds of York, we have so far regarded the city largely as a local trading-centre. Now we may fittingly take a glimpse at a larger York—York with trading interests "beyond the narrow seas." For quite four hundred years of our national life, our foreign trade was conducted and controlled mostly by foreign associations, such as the Hansards of North Germany, and the merchants of Venice and Florence in Italy. Representatives of these bodies settled in England, and had our outland commerce almost entirely in their hands. In the fifteenth century, however, the Merchant Adventurers of England came into existence. The foreign merchants then gradually lost their influence and privileges. In the days of Elizabeth—the golden days of the Merchant Adventurers—their power was finally destroyed.

**The Merchant Adventurers of York.**—The Merchant Adventurers of York were a specialized branch of the Mercers' Company. A number of mercers began to concern themselves with foreign trade, and acquired a charter from the King as a Court of Merchant Adventurers. The new fellowship gradually became the governing trading-body of York. By the additional charter granted by Elizabeth, "it could make laws and ordinances, which all merchants, mercers, and shopkeepers in York and its suburbs were compelled to obey; disobedience to its regulations was punishable by fine or imprisonment. Its duties included the supervision of weights and measures. No one was



allowed to open a shop until he had become a member of the Company."

**York's Foreign Trade.**—The trade of the York Merchant Adventurers' Company was a North Sea trade, chiefly with Hamburg. Its volume can be roughly estimated at nearly one-sixtieth of that of the whole body of Merchant Adventurers. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, therefore, the annual exports may be calculated at about fifteen thousand pounds. Another company of York merchants, the Eastland Company, had a fairly considerable Baltic trade.

**Regulations of York Merchants.**—Some of the regulations of the York Merchant Adventurers make instructive reading. Brethren of the fellowship and their apprentices were forbidden to stand at street corners to solicit buyers, or to frequent common inns where "chapmen" lodged, to the advantage of their own flax, iron, and other merchandise. Hawking and any attempt to start small shops in the country districts were absolutely prohibited. Interrupting speeches of members at their meetings was met with a fine of a shilling, as was also speaking more than three times upon any one matter. Dicing, mumming, carding, dancing, and unlawful games among the apprentices were sternly discountenanced. Neglect to attend to hear the sermons on special Court days held every three months, brought with it a penalty of two shillings.

**Old Guild-Halls.**—Some buildings reminiscent of the old religious and trade guilds still remain with us, to wit, the Guildhall; the Merchants' Hall, Fossgate; St. Anthony's Hall, Peasholme Green; and the Merchant Taylors' Hall, Aldwark. Three of these deserve special mention.

**The City Guildhall.**—The Guildhall dates from the reign of Henry V., and was in the first instance the guild-house of the Fraternities of St. George and St. Christopher. At the dissolution of the guilds, it came into the possession of the City Fathers. Merchants' shields adorn the bosses of the panelled ceiling, and the supporting pillars are solid oak from the ancient Galtres Forest. The windows are being gradually fitted with stained glass, depicting events of import in the civic annals. The building has, of course, been much renovated and enlarged.

**The Merchants' Hall.**—Trinity Hall, Fossgate, was the home of the Merchant Adventurers' Company. Over the gateway are the emblazoned arms of the Company, and the motto *Dieu Nous Donne Bonne Aventure*. The Hall, at one time undivided, is a fine mediæval structure with raftered roof and old oak paneling. Underneath, and entered by a trap door, is the chapel—dim and dank—where at the Michaelmas Court of the existent Merchant Adventurers' Company, an annual sermon is still preached.

**The Hall of St. Anthony.**—St. Anthony's Hall has had a most chequered career. Originally the guild-house of St. Anthony's Guild, the old name persisted, and survived a later dedication to the Blessed Mary and St. Martin. After the Guild had been dissolved it became successively a wool-factory, a corn-mill, an arsenal, a hospital, a prison, and a charity school. The mediæval timber-and-plaster work in the building has been replaced, but much of the older work remains in the windows, doorways, mouldings, and buttresses of the great hall.



*Photo by*

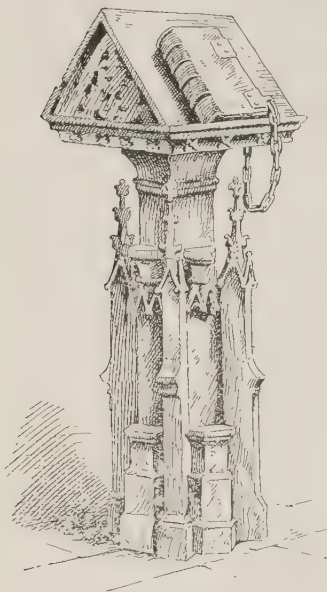
*[The Graphotone Co.]*

THE YORK GUILDHALL—RIVER VIEW, SHOWING OLD "STAYNE-GATE."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## IN TIMES OF CHANGE—YORK TURBULENT.

**Tudor Times.**—In the times of the Tudors, many important changes were taking place both in religious matters and in the conditions of town and country life. These changes were not pleasing in the eyes of the men of the North, and one or two serious revolts were the outcome of their dislike to the new ideas.



CHAINED BIBLE FORMERLY IN DEMOLISHED CHURCH OF ST. CRUX, NOW IN ALL SAINTS' CHURCH, PAVEMENT.

**The So-called Reformation.**—Many men believed that the Church had grown corrupt, that too much power was in the hands of the priests, and that the Bible should be the only rule of faith and conduct. They developed a religious movement, known as the "Reformation;" and the greater part of the people gradually came under its influence and accepted the new

teachings. Henry VIII., the second Tudor king, performed certain acts which greatly assisted this move-

ment. He himself did not favour the "Protestants," as the reformers were styled, but, having quarrelled with the Pope, the head of the Roman Catholic Church, he wished his subjects to abjure Papal authority. With this purpose in view, he declared the English monarch to be the head of the Church of England. Further, the monasteries, hitherto the great centres of religious life and learning, were put down, the monks scattered, and the vast incomes of the religious houses seized "for the king's service." His motive for this destruction was twofold: he desired to destroy institutions where the religious authority of the Pope was recognized, and he coveted, for his own personal uses and plans, the wealth that had accumulated from gift and bequest since the days of the Saxon Dunstan.

**Monastic York.**—York, with other towns, suffered in both power and prestige by this procedure. In the Middle Ages it was essentially a monastic city. Monks and friars daily thronged its streets. It contained about seventy religious houses, many of them important and wealthy, and hundreds of citizens depended for their livelihood upon these communities. Their suppression caused crowds of poor to be turned adrift to seek a living for themselves. Education also suffered, for the monks had been great teachers.

**Discontent Fomented.**—Another cause of discontent in the North was the change that was taking place in rural conditions. A great rise had occurred in the price of wool, and the farmers were beginning to turn their corn-fields into sheep-pastures. Many of the village commons were enclosed for this purpose. The men who, in past years, had ploughed and sown

and reaped now found no work to do, and this led to vagrancy and misery.

**The Pilgrimage of Grace.**—The first flame of rebellion was kindled when Henry VIII. closed the smaller monasteries in 1536. The revolt became known as “The Pilgrimage of Grace,” and was headed by a Yorkshire gentleman, Robert Aske. Nobles such as Lord Darcy took part in it ; the Abbot of Fountains was a type of many of its fervent priests. The rebels mobilized at Doncaster to the number of about thirty thousand, “tall men, well horsed, and well appointed as any men could be.” Hull fell into their hands.

At York, Robert Aske and a body of horsemen were willingly admitted by the citizens, while the main body of the insurgents, to the number of several thousand, remained outside. The King’s treasurer was seized, and a proclamation was placed on the Minster door, desiring the displaced “religious” to send in their names for reinstatement. The dispossessed monks and friars reappeared as if by magic. For a short time the rebel cause looked rosy, till a royal army came on the scene. The latter was, at first, scarcely strong enough to cope with such a popular rising, so its leaders dealt largely in fair promises. This policy was successful, and most of the rebels were beguiled homeward.

**The Hangman’s Harvest.**—These promises, however, were not kept. The King wrote to the Duke of Norfolk—“Our pleasure is before you close up our banner again, you shall cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, hamlet, and village that have offended, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all others.” The royal injunction was well obeyed. Aske was hanged, drawn,

and quartered at York Castle, and many other ring-leaders suffered the death penalty. A touching story of devotion is told by the old chronicler, concerning Robert Wall, Aske's servant. When he heard of his master's destined fate, "he did cast himself upon his bed and cried, 'Oh, my master! Oh, my master! They will draw him, and hang him, and quarter him!' And therewith did he die for sorrow."

**The Council of the North.**—Only one of the demands of the "Pilgrims" was really carried out, and Henry adopted it, probably, to keep the turbulent North quiet. He had a Bill passed by Parliament "to save his lieges and loving subjects the expenses and perils of travelling to London on matters of laws," and established at York the Council of the North. It sat for four months every year, its jurisdiction including both civil and criminal matters, especially the spreading of sedition, rioting, nonconformity, and the enclosure of commons. It punished by fine, imprisonment, the pillory, and mutilation. No wonder when such was in the royal mind that "Bluff King Hal," on coming to York soon after the ill-fated "Pilgrimage," was met by the Corporation in sober raiment and penitential mood.

**"The Rising of the North."**—About thirty years later, when Elizabeth was Queen, a similar outbreak took place. The movement called the Reformation had now, after days of stress, gained definite hold upon the country, but many still clung to the old religion. Some were bold enough to attempt its restoration, and to try and bring about the reign of a Catholic Queen. Mary, Queen of Scots, was about this time imprisoned at Bolton and Sheffield Castles, and her nearness prompted the hearts of her supporters to a rising in



her favour. It was headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, and is known to history as "The Rising of the North." After capturing Durham, the rebels came, by way of Darlington, Richmond, and Ripon, to Wetherby, intending from there to assault York. However, one of their number, Thomas Bishop of Pocklington, to wit, dissuaded them on account of its strength. Marching north again, the rebels besieged and took Barnard Castle; but, on the approach of the Earl of Sussex, who, after assembling five thousand men at York, now advanced on them, the two Earls took to flight, and their followers scattered. Many were killed and taken by the Queen's army, or by the country people—most fervid in loyalty now that the rebel cause was spent. Great severity was shown to prisoners. In every market town from Wetherby to Newcastle public executions took place. Four local gentlemen were put to death on Knavesmire, and their heads exposed on the four principal gates. Westmorland got away, but Northumberland, taking sanctuary with the Scots, was, after two years in hiding, given up to justice by the Scottish Regent. He was beheaded on a scaffold in the Pavement. His head remained on Micklegate Bar for two years, but his body was buried in St. Crux Church. His helmet is still to be seen in the mission room on the site of St. Crux Church.

**Pains and Penalties.**—This was the last open revolt against the new order of things. Many severe laws against Catholics were made in the later days of Elizabeth. Long after rebellion had skulked into secure obscurity, no fewer than two hundred suffered for their faith. A special tribunal, called the High Commission

Court, was created to deal with "Recusants," as these offenders against the State religion were called. York, of course, was a centre of repression, and both Catholics and a sect that was springing into prominence, called the "Puritans," suffered much owing to the intolerant spirit of the times.

**The Death-blow of the Guilds.**—One closing note may be added with reference to changes in Tudor times. The Guilds were put down with a strong hand, and this was mainly due to the Protector Somerset, in the reign of Edward VI. Lands and moneys belonging to the Craft Guilds were seized, and applied to other purposes. The plea was that the Guilds put their funds to "superstitious use," and that they were addicted to religious observances not in conformity with the new religious ideas that were favoured by the State. This, of course, was a mere excuse for sheer robbery. The seizure of their property was the death-blow of the Guilds. York, with its numerous Craft Guilds, was severely affected for a time by this indefensible spoliation.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### A POT-POURRI OF TUDOR YORK.

**Tudor Times.**—In the days of the Tudors, York maintained its repute as a city of historic note. Not yet were the pageant days of the ancient city passed, and York still showed bravely on the spacious stage upon which was enacted the complex drama of Old England.

**A Royal Entry.**—When Henry VII. came to the

kingship, time-serving somewhat seemed the citizens of Ebor. The very voices that, according to Hall's *Chronicle*, "had extolled Richard above the stars," in the Easter of 1486 were rapturously lauding his successor—"King Henry! King Henry! The Lord preserve and bless that well-favoured face." The Corporation presented the King, who had espoused Elizabeth of York a few months before, with two hundred casts of mayne-bread (a kind of rich cake, for which York was famous), a tun of rose-red wine, six fat oxen, and fifty fat wether sheep. At Micklegate Bar a pageant, "The Union of the Royal Roses," was depicted; at Skeldergate corner there was a shower of rose-water; and on Ouse Bridge his six predecessors of the same name, evidently on a short visit from the Shades, appeared to greet the King. At Coney Street corner a hail-storm of comfits fell, and near Stonegate, "our Lady herself" came from heaven, and ascended again while the angels sang, and showers of waffron-snow\* fell. At intervals on the route of the royal procession appeared Ebrauke, David, and Solomon, who recited metrical speeches. The last-named maintained his reputation for wisdom by presenting Henry with a sceptre, while David and Ebrauke, who, according to their own speeches, were contemporaries and old-time acquaintances, vied with each other in flattery and fulsomeness. Henry, for his part, dispensed favours and honours, held feasts, witnessed miracle-plays, and distributed liberal largesse.

**The Simnel Rebels and York.**—In the following year, the Simnel Rebellion troubled England, and for a time fringed York. It received scant sympathy from the

\* Waffron-snow=fluttering snow [Old Yorkshire dialect-word *Waff*—to fan or flutter].

citizens. When the rebels appeared before the city, and a body of them, under the Scropes, hereditary hatchers of treason, assaulted the gates of Bootham Bar, they were manfully repulsed. The appearance of the Earl of Northumberland upon the scene caused their entire withdrawal southward, where disaster was awaiting them at Stoke. To mark his sense of their loyalty, the stout Earl sent the citizens eight bucks and five marks of money; and with some other contributions, they had a royal time of it. The City Fathers, with some gentlemen of the Minster and six hundred Commoners "had a worshipful recreation, solace, and disport with bread and ale, with venison roast and baken, and with red wine sufficient" in the Guildhall. "Alack-a-day," sighs the modern trencherman, "for the good old times!"

**Fair Margaret—Bride.**—In 1503, the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., entered York on her bridal journey to Scotland. She was met and escorted into the city by the Lord Mayor, the Earl of Northumberland, and a goodly band of Yorkshire cavaliers. Earl Percy was especially resplendent. His coat, all goldsmiths' work, was richly garnished with pearls and stones; "he was well horsed upon a fair courser, with a cloth to the ground of crimson velvet, and his stirrups gilt." The chronicler presents a vivid word-picture:—"In fair order did Queen Margaret enter York, her minstrels singing, her trumpets and sackbuts playing, and the high woods resounding, banners and banderoles waving; coats of arms unrolled to the light setting; rich maces in hand, and brave horsemen curvetting and bounding." The Princess resided at the Archbishop's palace, near the

Minster. During her stay of two days, she attended High Mass at the Cathedral, accompanied by a splendid



THE LORD MAYOR ESCORTING PRINCESS MARGARET  
THROUGH THE STREETS OF YORK.

cortège. On the next day, the royal girl was ceremoniously escorted as far as Clifton by the City Cor-

poration and the Northern nobility, on her way to Newburgh Priory.

**Fair Margaret—Widow.**—The city which saw her a bride saw her also a widow, for, thirteen years later, she lodged in St. Mary's Abbey on her way to London. The Lord Mayor gave her a present of wine, mayne-bread, and half a dozen large, leaping pikes from the city weir. She was greatly touched by the kindness of her reception by the citizens, and, ere leaving for London, gratefully "promised with all her heart if she might do good to this city, she should be good lady to the same." "Queen Margaret's Archway" was probably inserted in the Abbey walls about the time of this visit, and so christened by the diplomatic Abbot, although its erection was undoubtedly a matter of convenience.

**The "Northumberland House-Book."**—The Earl of Northumberland just mentioned kept very careful account of his expenditure, and from the "Northumberland Household Book," still existent, we get many interesting sidelights on Tudor ways and customs. The Earl and his Countess had for breakfast every day, except on fast days, "a loaf of bread, two loaves of fine meal, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, half a chine of mutton, or a chine of beef boiled." On fast days, they had instead of the meat, "two pieces of salt fish, six baked herrings, and a dish of sprats." The two elder children were supplied with "bread, two quarts of beer, a chicken, or else three mutton bones boiled." Similar large quantities were requisitioned for the other meals of the day, and it cannot be wondered at that the English were regarded at this period as the greatest eaters and drinkers in Europe.

**Some Tudor Prices.**—Some of the prices quoted in this “House-Book” and in the York civic records are very instructive. A fat ox cost 13<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, a lean one, 8/-; a sheep, 1/8; a pig or a goose, 10d.; a plover or a partridge, 3d. A fat hen could be got for 5d., and half a dozen eggs for a penny. People went to bed early, for candles were very dear. Three pounds of candles cost as much as a whole lamb. Wealthy folk stored a little coal, and a large amount of firewood. The coal would not burn without being mixed with a considerable quantity of wood, as it was of poor quality, coal-mining being in its infancy. The Earl of Northumberland had three or four residences in Yorkshire, and moved his furniture from one to another, as required, “in seventeen carts and a wagon.” Glass for the windows was similarly transferred.

**The Revival of Learning.**—One of the great movements in England during Tudor times was the “Revival of Learning.” This movement was greatly helped by the introduction of printing. In the year 1509, five-and-twenty years after William Caxton had set up the first printing press in England at Westminster, Hugo Goes set up the first printing press in York within the Minster Yard, thus helping the “Renaissance” in the North. Every student of history knows that the new thirst for knowledge awakened also a spirit of discovery and commercial enterprise, that it had an important bearing on the Reformation, and that it made possible the glories of Elizabethan literature. Probably another result was the establishment of “King Edward VI.’s Grammar Schools.” Locally, the work was done by Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York, and sometime





*Photo by The Graphophone Co.*

QUEEN MARGARET'S ARCHWAY AND BOOTHAM BAR.

President of the Council of the North. His York school was founded in 1546, and he autocratically fixed the hours from "six o' the clock in the morning till eleven o' the clock ; to begin again at one o' the clock at afternoon, an' continue till six o' the clock at night." A special proviso was set forth against the commitment by the Head Master of "any heresy, treason, murder, or felony ;" and, if married, his wife, mayhap to hinder conjugal wranglings disturbing the scene of his labour, was not permitted to reside within the Cathedral Close.

**Camden's Account of York.**—In the Tudor period, two excellent descriptions of York were written by Leland and Camden respectively. The latter's description is, perhaps, the more lucid, and from it the following excerpt is taken :—"The east part of the city (where the buildings are thick and the streets but narrow) is shaped like a lentil, and strongly walled. On the south-east it is defended by a "Foss" or ditch, very deep and muddy, which runs by obscure ways into the very heart of the city, and has a bridge over it so thronged with buildings on both sides, that a stranger would mistake it for a street, after which it falls into the Ouse. The west part of the city is less populous, and lies in a square form, enclosed partly with stately walls and partly by the river, and has but one way to it, namely by "Mikall-bar," which signifies a great gate, from whence a broad pier-built street on both sides leads to the very bridge, with fine gardens behind them, and the fields for exercise extended to the very walls."

**Henry VIII. in York.**—"Bluff King Hal" visited York in 1541 principally for the purpose of meeting his nephew, James V. of Scotland. In this he was dis-

appointed. However, he spent several days in the city. On his entry, the Corporation, mindful of the recent "Pilgrimage of Grace," met him in penitential garb at the Old Cross on Fulford Road, and abjectly went down on their knees while the Recorder read their "Address." In it they styled themselves "wretches continually from the bottom of their stomach repentant," and expressed their sorrow for having "grievously, heinously, and traitorously offended." Henry showed that he had not forgotten the city's offences; for, before leaving, he ordered the Archbishop to cause all the shrines remaining in the various churches to be removed and defaced. The Queen, Lady Katherine Howard, was probably not with him on the occasion, as has been supposed.

**A York "War Scare."**—A few years later, there was a "war scare" in the city. A Scottish invasion was threatened, and York was required to furnish a levy of soldiers. "Each of the city soldiers who were archers was to be furnished with a bow of yew, and twenty-four arrows in a sheaf, with his dagger and sword, or else a mallet of lead or iron; those who were not archers were to be armed with a good bill and a dagger." The call to arms was afterwards countermanded by the English leader, who later became known to history as the Protector Somerset. Numbers of soldiers passed through York at this time, and the scale of prices to be paid by them to the York Taverners is instructive.

A captain, for each honest and sufficient	
meal	.. .. . 4d.
A gentleman guest at the captain's mess	3d.
A soldier	.. .. . 2½d.

A lacquey	..	..	..	2d.
Drink to be paid for over and above				
Horse-hay and litter per night	..			2d.
A bushel of oats	..	..	..	8d.

**In Marian Days.**—In the days of Queen Mary, York played a very minor part in the religious tangles that were rife. There was some suffering of smaller pains and penalties, but nothing occurred of more than temporary interest. Drake says :—"Not one execution, either for treason or religion, was performed in it during her administration." The Russian Ambassador, however, caused some stir by a visit to York. He had been sent by his royal master to establish commerce with this country, but his ship was driven by stress of storm out of her course, and he was shipwrecked in Scotland. In his journeying southward, he passed through York, and was the subject of much lawful curiosity, 'being the first man of his nation ever seen in the city.'

**"Good Queen Bess."**—In the glorious days of Good Queen Bess, apart from "the Rising of the North" described elsewhere, the events of national import were few. In truth, from a national standpoint, its affairs were somewhat humdrum. Its citizens concerned themselves chiefly in commerce—verily a laudable pursuit. Still they had their local affairs of moment. In 1564, the then existent "Ousebrig" was destroyed by a high flood. (Twelve houses upon it were also washed away, but St. William's Chapel survived until the demolition of the succeeding bridge in 1818). For many years, fears existed for the safety of the new erection, and "wains with coal or great

timber" were prohibited from passing over it. Further, a couple of earthquakes caused both mental and material disturbance in Elizabethan York. In 1603 the Great Queen died, and, with the succeeding Stuart era, York entered upon its final phase of historic note.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### A ROYAL RECEPTION AT YORK.

**Belated News.**—Queen Elizabeth died on Tuesday, March 22nd, 1603, and her successor, James VI., King of Scotland, was immediately proclaimed in London as James I., King of England. Sunday morning had come before the news reached the ears of the citizens of York. Yet York is not two hundred miles from London. Thus five days had elapsed before the citizens began to prepare themselves to proclaim the new sovereign in the market-place. Even then they were doubtful whether the report of the Queen's death was true. This belated proclamation of King James in York gives us some idea of the difficulty of communication between the South and the North. It is not easy to realize this in our days of steam and electricity.

**A Mighty Cavalcade.**—James was at Edinburgh when he received news of his accession to the throne of Elizabeth, and it was from there that he began his journey to London, by way of Newcastle, Durham, and York. When yet only a little way into England, his train of followers had become a very large company.

Many gentlemen from the South came to offer him fealty, no doubt intending to get into his good graces with as little waste of time as possible. Indeed, after leaving Durham, the multitude that followed him increased so much that they caused a famine in each place to which they came. This so "oppressed the country" along his route, that the King was obliged to publish an "inhibition against the inordinate and daily access of the people coming."

**A Message of Loyalty.**—The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of York, as soon as they were certain that the King had entered England, "with all diligence consulted what was fittest to be done for the receiving and entertaining so mighty and gracious a sovereign, as well within the city as at the utmost bounds thereof." First they decided to send an alderman to Newcastle, at which place James had then arrived, to "make tender to him of their zealous love and duty"; for which His Majesty gave them "heartie thankses."

**At the City Boundary.**—The King, after leaving Durham, made his journey by easy stages towards York, which he finally approached by way of the Boroughbridge road. Where this road crosses the Nidd, near Hammerton, is Skip Bridge, about nine miles from York, and this point was regarded as the "utmost bounds of the liberties of the city." At the east end of Skip Bridge, therefore, special arrangements were made to welcome the King, "and there awaiting him was a company consisting of the two sheriffs of York, with their white rods, a hundred citizens, and three score other esquires, gentlemen and others, the most substantial persons being all well mounted." Then the procession moved on towards York, the sheriffs

riding immediately in front of the sergeants-at-arms and carrying their white rods upright all the way.

**Who is to Carry the Sword?**—Before the King came to the city, a little difficulty had to be faced. An important feature in all civic processions is the great sword, and now a question arose as to who should have the honour of carrying it in the royal procession through the city. The Earl of Cumberland claimed the right as hereditary to his house, but the Lord President of the North, in virtue of his own high office, challenged that claim. The King accordingly sent a messenger to York to enquire who had formerly borne the sword before the Kings of England. When it was discovered that it had “anciently been performed” by the Earls of Cumberland, James sent word again that he “so willed” that this practice should continue. Therefore in all processions that James made in the city of York, the Earl of Cumberland, carrying the sword, and the Lord Mayor, carrying the great mace of the city, rode side by side.

**At Micklegate Bar.**—The royal company, on reaching Micklegate Bar, found a second and much more brilliant assembly awaiting them. On a platform erected there, the Lord Mayor, with the twelve aldermen in their scarlet robes, had taken his station, accompanied by the four-and-twenty councillors in their crimson gowns, “with many others of the gravest mien.” His Majesty, riding between two Scottish nobles, the Duke of Lennox and Lord Hume, having come near, all on the platform knelt, while the Lord Mayor said, “Most high and mighty prince, I and my brethren do most heartily welcome Your Majesty to Your Highness’ city,<sup>s</sup> and in token of our



duties, I deliver unto Your Majesty all my authority of this Your Highness' city." He then rose, kissed the great sword, and delivered it into the hand of the King, who passed it to the Duke of Lennox to give to the Earl of Cumberland, as had been arranged. The keys of the city were also given up, and placed in the charge of Lord Hume. Then followed a "grave oration" on the part of the Recorder, whose duty it was to make a speech of welcome on behalf of the city. This scene is portrayed, unfortunately with one or two inaccuracies, in the eleventh window in the Guildhall.

**The Latin Oration.**—The procession which now slowly passed through the Bar looked a most imposing one, augmented as it was with all the pomp of the civic dignitaries, and in stately manner it moved on through the crowded streets to the Minster. Here the King was met by the "Deans, Prebends, and the whole choir of singing-men of the Cathedral Church, in their richest copes," and the Dean of York made a "learned oration in Latin" at the entrance. This speech would be easily understood by the King, however much it might bewilder or weary some of the courtiers round him, for James had received an excellent education from his tutor, the learned Robert Buchanan.

**At the Minster Service.**—In the Minster the King occupied a throne specially prepared for him, the Earl of Cumberland and the Lord Mayor standing by his side, while over his head a canopy was held by six lords.

**The King's Lodgings.**—After divine service was ended, the King, in stately procession as before, went to the Manor House (now the School for the Blind), where royal visitors to York usually lodged. Here

he was received by the Lord President of the Council of the North (Lord Burleigh) and the members of the Council.

**A Presentation.**—In the morning the civic dignitaries—the Lord Mayor, the Recorder, the Aldermen and Sheriffs, the twenty-four Councillors with all their chief officers, the Preacher of the city, and the Town Clerk —“in very comely order,” went to the Manor House, and the King graciously willed that so many of them as the room would permit should come into his private chamber. There the Lord Mayor presented him with a “fair cup, with a cover of silver and gilt, weighing seventy and three ounces; and in the same two hundred angels of gold.” His Majesty, after listening to the accompanying complimentary speech of the Lord Mayor, said “God will bless you the better for your good-will towards your king.” After this, as the day was Sunday, he again went to the Minster to divine service, and heard a sermon from the Dean.

**The Banquet.**—The King had promised that on Monday morning he would breakfast with the Lord Mayor, so at nine o’clock the civic procession marched to the Manor House to escort His Majesty to the Mansion House. From there, later, the King walked to the Dean’s House, where, along with a brilliant company, he was entertained to a banquet, which was to be his last function before leaving the city.

**Leaving the City.**—From the Deanery the King, fully attended by all the city’s officials, passed through the streets to Micklegate Bar. Here the Lord Mayor, kneeling, received back the sword, and the King, “pulling off his glove, took the mayor by the hand, and gave him thanks.” The sheriffs continued to

accompany the King as far as the middle of Tadcaster Bridge, at which place they took leave of him, having reached the "utmost bounds of their liberties."

**The King's Satisfaction.**—York had endeavoured, as far as possible, to make James "appear in this northern metropolis like a King of England," in order that "he might take that state on him which was not known in Scotland." His Majesty was so pleased with his reception that at the Lord Mayor's House he expressed himself much in favour of the city. He professed to be concerned that the River Ouse was then so bad for commerce, and remarked that it should be made more navigable. Staying next day at Grims-ton (just beyond Tadcaster), he sent for the Lord Mayor, and knighted him as a further mark of his royal favour.

**November 5th, 1605.**—After reigning two years in London, James and his Parliament were nearly the victims of a dastardly plot which had been planned by Roman Catholic conspirators. Just in time Guy Fawkes, provided with dark lantern and slow match for his deadly purpose, was seized in the cellars underneath the Houses of Parliament. Since that night, his effigy has been the central figure of every fifth-of-November bonfire demonstration. It has been said that Guy Fawkes was born in Low Petergate in York, and it is certain that he was baptized in St. Michael le Belfry—the record of this fact being still to be seen in the registers of that church. It is, however, now generally accepted that Bishopthorpe, and not York city, has the doubtful honour of being the place of his birth.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## STIRRING TIMES FOR YORK BEGIN AGAIN.

**More Royal Visitors to York.**—By its most loyal and generous welcome to James I., York had made a good impression on that King and his Court, and this was deepened by the very cordial reception which the Queen and her two children received, when, in turn, they stopped at York on their way to London. The Corporation spared no cost to provide them with fitting entertainment, and, in addition, presented them with valuable gifts.

**York a City of Sorrow.**—Our last chapter—and, so far, this one—show York given up to the gay scenes and crowded streets which always attended important royal visits, but the next year saw the city in sad distress. During 1604 over three thousand five hundred of its inhabitants died of the plague. The city courts were in consequence removed to Ripon and Durham, and many of the citizens left their houses to escape infection. Hundreds were prostrated at one time with the deadly sickness, and efforts were made to isolate them as much as possible by sending them to Hob Moor and Horsefair, where wooden booths were erected to receive them. The Minster and Minster Yard were shut up. We can, however, thankfully chronicle that this was the last time that York was visited with a scourge of this type.

**Public Health at York.**—We must remember that such plagues attacked large towns as late as the seventeenth century; for, before that time, people did not

pay much attention to the necessity of having some regular system for disposing safely of refuse and garbage. Dirty streets and ill-ventilated alleys, where people dwelt in dark, over-crowded rooms, were just the places to breed pestilence. After so dreadful a visitation, people began to realize that their streets were too narrow, that overhanging houses, which shut out the air and the sunlight, were unhealthy, and that decaying matter could not be left lying about without endangering public health. From this time, therefore, dates that regard for sanitation which is so important a feature of modern town management.

**On the Ice at York.**—About Martinmas 1607 the citizens of York seem to have given themselves up to a week of jollity and merry-making. The River Ouse was frozen over so thickly that “you might have passed with cart and carriage as well as upon firm ground,” and many of the citizens seem to have enjoyed games on the ice. Football was, apparently, a favourite pastime, but it was “played” by a howling, scrambling mob of perhaps fifty or sixty on each side, with little regard for anything save getting the ball past a certain point. Then there were cudgel bouts, in which each combatant tried to “mark” his opponent. Of the quieter games, bowling was the chief, while there seems to have been still some survival of the old “shooting at eleven score” with bow and arrows, although, as weapons of war, these had been quite discarded. Another rather novel feature of the occasion was a horse race on the ice from the tower at Marygate to the postern at Skeldergate. Thus did York citizens amuse themselves when the Stuarts first began to reign in England.

**The River Ouse.**—In 1617 King James I. paid another visit to York, this time while on his way to Scotland. When His Majesty was in the city, occasion was taken to remind him about the difficult navigation of the Ouse. There were numerous shoals, especially where the course was winding, and no Locks had yet been made at Naburn or elsewhere to maintain the level of the water. But although the Corporation of York hired a London poet—a certain Sands Percvine by name—to make, from the top of Ousebridge, a speech to King James about the Ouse navigation, we must conclude, from a York lamentation of fifty years later, that His Majesty did nothing in the matter.

**Sumptuous Banquets at York.**—Charles I., who succeeded his father in 1625, was destined to spend some considerable time in York; and indeed, at his accession, the city entered on a busy but unfortunate period. Charles passed through York, as King, for the first time on his way to Scotland in 1633, and received the usual royal welcomes at Tadcaster Bridge and Micklegate Bar. At the latter place most fulsome speeches were made to him by the Lord Mayor and the Recorder, while the banquets given in his honour by the Corporation were unprecedented in expense and lavish display. The practice of giving sumptuous repasts on such occasions seems to have originated about this time.

**Curious Ceremonies in York Minster.**—Amongst many of the people there was a very peculiar superstition, which attributed great healing powers to the king's person; and this was the reason for a curious ceremony whenever special circumstances supplied the

opportunity. When King Charles went to the Minster on the Good Friday of 1639, there were over two hundred people, every one afflicted with "a disease of a scrofulous nature," who had come from far and near to beg of him to "touch" them. Such a disease, which usually attacked the glands of the neck, was popularly called the "king's evil," from the belief that the king had power to heal those who were thus afflicted. So it is recorded that King Charles on that day "touched two hundred persons for king's evil." At the same time the Bishop of Winchester, in the Minster, "washed in white wine the feet of thirty-nine poor men, wiped and kissed them, and gave them presents of fish, bread, wine, and a silver penny." This particular number was selected because the King was at the time thirty-nine years old.

**The Scottish Church.**—Accompanying Charles was Archbishop Laud, and the main purpose of their journey to Scotland was to re-construct the Scottish Church. The Scots mainly belonged to the Presbyterian persuasion, of which all the officers were chosen, directly or indirectly, by the people themselves. James I. had succeeded in establishing some bishops, but they had little power, and the majority of the Scottish ministers still used their own extempore prayers instead of the set forms of prayer prescribed in the Prayer Book. Charles, with the assistance and advice of Laud, now arranged at Edinburgh that a Prayer Book, based on that of the Church of England, should be drawn up by the bishops for use by the clergy in Scotland. Then he returned to England in the belief that he had introduced a more orderly state of things.

**A National Protest.**—The King, probably with the



best of intentions, had unwittingly roused the whole Scottish nation. They hated the newly-compiled Prayer Book, first because it seemed imported from England, secondly because it was drawn up by bishops, and above all because they considered it a step towards the introduction of Roman Catholicism. The great majority of the Scots eventually signed a solemn agreement, which was called the National Covenant, in which they pledged themselves to resist these innovations to the utmost.

**Warlike Appearance of York.**—The second royal visit of Charles to York, in 1639, was made when he had resolved to try and force the Scots to accept the changes in their church system on which he had set his heart. So, on this occasion, a principal feature of the King's reception at Micklegate Bar was the presence of the city's trained-bands to the number of six hundred men; while His Majesty's stay was chiefly occupied in reviewing his troops, which were quartered in the city, and in the neighbouring market towns—York being the eventual rendezvous for all.

**A Futile Agreement.**—The King's army, however, was not very formidable. The soldiers were mainly undisciplined levies from the northern counties, while their leaders were men of little ability. On the other hand, many of the leaders of the Scots had served in wars on the Continent; consequently, when the two armies came near each other on the Scottish Border, Charles could not hope for victory. His men, moreover, were only half-hearted about their cause. Happily the Scots were by no means anxious to provoke war, so long as they could get their way by peaceful means. King Charles seemed to offer them this

by consenting to an agreement called the Pacification of Berwick. Then both armies returned home. His Majesty was, nevertheless, determined to coerce the Scots if he could, so the agreement meant to him only an interval, in which he might obtain money from somewhere and collect a better army.

**An Army on Clifton Ings.**—Of course the Scots closely watched the efforts of Charles, and guessed the state of his feelings towards them. Hence they did not lose much time in reassembling their army. Then, crossing the Tweed, and easily overcoming the feeble opposition offered to them, they possessed themselves of Northumberland and Durham “to the skirts of Yorkshire.” King Charles, meanwhile, hurried to York, and tried by proclamation to rouse the country against the invaders. He had gathered some levies, this time from the south of the Trent. He encamped them on Clifton Ings and in the fields opposite, on the other side of the river—the two camps being connected by a bridge of boats. But he had little money, and his forces were much inferior to those of the Scots. There was some talk that York itself might be attacked if the King’s army could not be improved. As a result of this rumour, Charles and his officers, accompanied by some aldermen and citizens, rode about the city, and, with pickaxes, spades, and shovels, marked out several entrenchments and fortifications. But the Scots, although persistent in their demands for freedom in their religion, were not desirous to quarrel with the English nation; so they did not advance farther.

**The Council of Peers at York.**—There seemed little chance for Charles to impose his will on the Scots.

Many petitions were presented to him, urging him to call a Parliament, and the Yorkshire gentry, who were maintaining the trained-bands, strongly advised the same thing. But the King knew that a Parliament would give nothing to him till English grievances were settled. He therefore tried a plan which former kings had sometimes adopted in sudden emergencies. He called a Council of the Peers of England. They met in the great hall of the Deanery, where the Minster School is now. Although they promised to raise some money on their own personal credit, they urgently advised that a Parliament should be called. So the King finally summoned one. It met in November 1640, and was called the "Long Parliament," because, theoretically, it lasted twenty years. English and Scottish commissioners, meanwhile, agreed at Ripon that, for the time being, the Scots should hold Northumberland and Durham, and that they should receive £25,000 per month until a full treaty was made. With this unsatisfactory arrangement, the King and his lords left York for London.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### HOW THE KING'S COURT CAME TO YORK.

**King Charles.**—The people of York were to have many opportunities of seeing Charles I., for it was to this city he chose to come with his Court when London grew intolerable to him. Ever since the beginning of his reign, the antagonism between himself and a large section of his people had been growing. He was even

more convinced than his father had been of his " Divine Right " to rule, and thought he was quite entitled to act independently of Parliament, as the Tudors had often done. He did not see that times had changed, and that men would no longer put up with exactions of money, or imprisonment at the will of the king only. But, as he had little idea of the danger of popular opposition, he obstinately persisted in trying to raise money otherwise than through Parliament, and in punishing those who refused to pay. He thought also that his subjects could not be loyal unless they were members of the Established Church, with its system of bishops and clergy ; so he was constantly in conflict with that large section of the nation, who either thought in religious matters as the Scots did, or believed that every religious body should be independent of outside control. Here were elements sufficient to cause trouble when Charles met his fifth Parliament in November 1640.

**An Able but Unfortunate Yorkshireman.**—A prominent figure at the King's side during his last stay in York was Thomas Wentworth, the famous Earl of Strafford. He belonged to the old Yorkshire family of Wentworths, from near Barnsley. In the first Parliament of Charles I. he was member for York, and actively opposed the King's party. Afterwards he went over to the King's side, became his chief adviser, and was for three years President of the Council of the North, with an official residence at the King's Manor House in York. In 1640 both he and Laud were arrested by order of the Long Parliament, and, being deserted by their master, were, eventually, sentenced to death.

**To Scotland for Help.**—The King, deprived of both his advisers, now thought to try a scheme of his own. He determined to play off his rebellious Scotch subjects against his unmanageable English ones. So we find His Majesty, in November 1641, again at York on his way to Scotland. But great concessions to the Scots, and numerous honours bestowed upon their leading men, failed to secure for Charles any very satisfactory support, so he returned to England. When he reached London, he found that the Long Parliament had just finished its task of drawing up a list of all the arbitrary acts the King had done since he began to reign. The Commons might well call this the *Grand Remonstrance*, for it contained two hundred and six clauses.

**Why the King left London for York.**—Charles, on his return from Scotland, had received a fairly cordial welcome from the London citizens. But the actions and advice of the Queen were causing much discussion among the leaders in the House of Commons, and this brought on trouble, which ended most unfavourably for the King. Queen Henrietta was a Roman Catholic, a Frenchwoman, and a believer in the absolute right of a king to treat refractory subjects with a high hand; and for all these things she was hated by many of the people. A most savage rebellion of the Roman Catholic Irish had just broken out, and the Queen was accused of being in league with them. The Commons even began to talk about bringing her to trial for her undoubted sympathy with the Roman Catholics, and her strong approval of all violent measures against the King's opponents. Charles, on his part, determined to seize on the five chief leaders

in the House of Commons before they could carry into action any decision about the Queen. He did not succeed in his design, and all London was roused against him for violating the privileges of Parliament. This, and still more the dispute which followed concerning the "Militia Bill," made him finally decide to come with his Court to York. As for the Queen, she sailed away to Holland, taking with her the crown jewels.

**York—the "City of Refuge."**—An old York historian says: "Most persons of quality of this great county, and of those adjacent, resorted to him; and many persons of condition from London and the southern parts, who had not the courage to attend upon him at Whitehall, or near the Parliament, came to York, so that in a short time the Court appeared with some lustre, and our city may be truly called to this persecuted king, a City of Refuge." The final sentence shows that our historian held the royalist view.

**A York Petition.**—Impartial historians seem to agree that the reception of King Charles in this city was but cool at first. The York Assizes were being held about the time of the King's arrival, and, soon after, he received from the Yorkshire nobility, gentry, ministers, and freeholders then assembled in the city, a petition, which seems, amid all its flattering language and words of welcome, to convey mainly a sorrowful uneasiness. It reminded the King about Ireland—"an almost ruined country;" it conveyed a doubt as to the King's sincerity in his public speeches against Popery, while it is certain that the petitioners' greatest wish was that the King and Parliament might be reconciled. The King, in his reply, said that the petitioners might rely

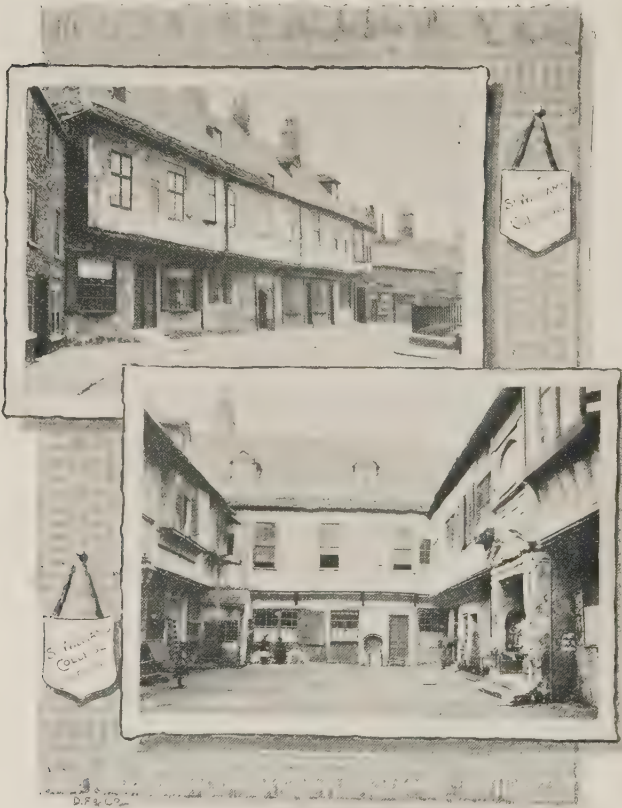
on him to keep his promises with regard both to Ireland and to Popery, but that the best way to bring about an agreement between himself and the Parliament was for the latter to let him make the appointments of commanders of the Militia, which was just what the Commons were determined not to do.

**The York "Printing-House."**—Communications of all kinds now began to pass frequently between York and London; for, as an historian quaintly puts it, there was a "paper war briskly carried on by both parties till they entered on a real one." The King had printing-presses set up in St. William's College in the Minster Yard, and a study of the times shows us that he made constant and heavy use of them. Both King and Parliament published scores of pamphlets to *enlighten* the country on their own particular views in addition to numerous despatches which they sent directly to each other. The King, in order to be near his printers, and to be able to give them directions and instructions without being observed, lodged in Sir Arthur Ingram's house (which then stood in Minster Yard, quite close to St. William's College), instead of staying, as Royalty usually did, in the King's Manor House.

**Orders from York versus Orders from London.**—All country and town authorities had now received strict injunctions from both King and Parliament about their trained-bands and stores of arms, but, as these two sets of orders were directly contrary to each other, men were in a quandary. There was a large section of the nation who wished for nothing better than that King and Parliament should become friends again, but on the religious question no one seemed to have any



ideas of toleration. Thus most towns and villages, and many families, had in them two opposing parties,



IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK,  
CANONIZED IN 1227.

gloomily and suspiciously watching each other. The terror of impending civil war was on the nation. People

looked anxiously to the two great opposing centres, York and London, hoping for some movement towards agreement from one or the other. But, alas, the next step, a misguided one on the part of the King, widened the breach.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### HOW THE KING'S COURT LEFT YORK.

**Hull Defies the King.**—Both King and Parliament claimed the right to appoint the commanders of fortresses. As a consequence we find that, while Charles had ordered the Earl of Newcastle to take charge of Hull, Parliament had commissioned Sir John Hotham to the same place. Unfortunately for Charles, Sir John Hotham arrived there first. Now Hull was a most valuable possession, for it contained arms for sixteen thousand men. Urged by violent counsellors, Charles determined to go himself and order the Parliamentary governor to surrender the place. This was a most unfortunate step. First, it was totally unsuccessful, because Sir John Hotham refused to admit the King, and, in return, Charles declared the governor a traitor; secondly, Parliament considered it a clear attempt on the part of the King to obtain arms to be used against themselves. Even the most hopeful now thought that war was inevitable.

**The Royal "Body-Guard" at York.**—Soon after this, in York, there was a large assembly of the gentry of the county, who had been summoned to meet the King. To these Charles told his grievances against

Parliament, and, in conclusion, informed them that he intended to have a body-guard to protect his person. His audience was composed of two parties, but the larger one was in his favour, and agreed to a guard of horsemen. The smaller party withdrew to the Dean's House, and composed an address to the King, in which they strongly advised him to throw himself entirely upon his Parliament, of whose loyal care and affection to His Majesty's honour and safety they were most confident. It is noteworthy that the first signature to this address, which was really an energetic protest against the King's proposal, was that of Sir Thomas Fairfax, of Nun Appleton, who was destined to do so much afterwards for the Parliamentary cause. The petition of these sympathizers with Parliament was, however, practically ignored by Charles, and "two-hundred young gentlemen of this county voluntarily formed themselves into a troop," in compliance with His Majesty's desire. To these were added 700 foot from the trained-bands. Thus Charles had a small army at his back, which he constantly asserted was only to protect his person from danger. But Parliament clearly thought otherwise, for they published at once a pamphlet in London, headed—"Horrible News from York concerning the King's Majesty's Intent to take up Arms against the Parliament."

**The Parliamentary Committee at York.**—London had been well posted up in news from York by four representatives of Parliament, who resided in the city to keep a watchful eye on the King. The most important of them was Lord Ferdinand Fairfax of Denton, the father of the Sir Thomas mentioned above. We may be sure that "the four" were the constant objects of

the King's anger, and that more than once they ran the risk of being imprisoned.

**A Huge Gathering on Heworth Moor.**—About a fortnight after the “body-guard” was raised, the King called a great meeting of gentlemen, freeholders, and farmers on Heworth Moor. An immense crowd of people gathered there on the appointed day. The King's address, which had been printed beforehand, was now distributed broadcast amongst the multitude; for, naturally, although “as much silence was made as was possible,” many were unable to hear what the King said. The address was written in a very conciliatory spirit, and Charles made much of his desire to preserve peace. He asked for the help of his people in “the defence of the true religion, and of the laws and constitutions of this kingdom.” When His Majesty had finished reading the address, from many thousand throats came the roar of “God bless the King!” mingled, however, with widespread shouts of “God unite King and Parliament!”

**While the Rulers Quarrel, the Subjects Suffer.**—

It was clear to any careful observer that many of those who took part in the meeting on Heworth Moor were dissatisfied with the state of affairs, and were by no means enthusiastic for either King or Parliament. They saw how the country was suffering through quarrels, and men of the northern counties especially had much of which to complain. The Scots had overrun and impoverished them. For three years there had been armies either stationed at York or passing through the northern counties and living on their produce. What man would be daring enough to present to the King a petition which should show him that the real wishes

of the people were for agreement, and not for war, between King and Parliament?

**A Bold Yorkshireman.**—As the King sat on horse-back on Heworth Moor, surrounded by a brilliant guard of cavaliers on the day of that great meeting, Sir Thomas Fairfax was seen to approach him fearlessly with the petition of his party. Charles well knew it would contain no pleasing message, and contemptuously waved Sir Thomas aside; but that sturdy delegate, before retiring, placed the petition on the pommel of the King's saddle, in spite of the threatening attitude of some reckless nobles standing by. Sir Thomas had taken care that copies of this petition should be distributed amongst the people, but, wherever little groups formed to read and discuss them, they were violently interrupted. Before the day was over, the more excitable of the cavaliers nearly came to blows with the adherents of the Parliamentary side.

**Farewell to York.**—The people of York now began to fear that their city might become the centre of the warfare which they felt sure was about to break out. They held the mistaken idea that if fighting should take place, the king's person would be the centre of it. The northern gentry and nobles, therefore, wished the King to make some place farther south the starting-point of his operations. Finally, it was decided that the King should not set up his standard at York. As the outbreak of hostilities and the King's departure drew nearer, the people of York began to have fears of a possible attack from Hull. So they begged the King to leave with them the Earl of Cumberland, as "supreme commander of the country in all military affairs, and to appoint Sir Thomas Glemham to stay

with them, and command those forces which the Earl should think necessary to raise for their defence." The King readily agreed to these appointments, and in August 1642, bidding farewell to York, went south to Nottingham, to which place he had previously summoned his supporters.

**Vain Hopes in Yorkshire.**—The northern nobility and gentry, with the worthy citizens of York, now thought they might be able to keep out of the conflict, if they took due precautions. Lord Fairfax and his son were the principal supporters of Parliament amongst the northern nobility, and with them and their adherents it was generally hoped that a friendly understanding might be arrived at. The leaders of the parties in Yorkshire holding opposing views met at Rothwell, near Leeds, and came to an agreement to live in peace side by side, and let others fight the matter out. But, alas, this treaty was of short duration, the hopes of the peace-loving were quickly shattered, and Yorkshire people, like those of the rest of England, were soon engaged in mad strife.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### YORK—A ROYAL FORTRESS.

**Both Sides Break Their Agreement.**—Soon after the King left York, the city seems to have rejected a proposal of the Yorkshire gentry that it should join with them and declare openly against the Parliament. The citizens were the more inclined to continue neutral

because Sir John Hotham had written from Hull protesting that he meant no ill against York. But a short time after they had received this letter, the city authorities thought it wise to take many precautions against any surprise attack, and it was clear that they were beginning to be anxious. Then came news that the agreement at Rothwell had not prevented Sir Thomas Fairfax from seizing and fortifying Tadcaster and Wetherby, and an expedition set out from York to try to drive him out. Thus York joined in the conflict.

**The Earl of Newcastle at York.**—The lack of success which attended the first attacks of the York forces on the Parliamentarians, coupled with the ability and energy of the Fairfaxes, made the more warlike of the King's party ask for the removal of the Earl of Cumberland from his office of military commander of the Royalists in the North. They considered him to be of too peaceful a nature and of too kind a disposition to push the Royalist cause, so the Earl of Newcastle was invited to come to York to assume the leadership in his stead. Sir Thomas Glemham, whom the Fairfaxes had so decisively driven back at Wetherby, still continued to be governor of the city.

**A City of Soldiery.**—The Earl of Newcastle came to York with an army of six thousand men, and, as there was already a very considerable force in the place, the city soon assumed the appearance of a huge garrison. Soldiers were everywhere billeted in people's houses, and sometimes as many as a hundred were lodged in one small street. Then, besides the regular soldiery, there were the trained-bands. At first the gentry of Yorkshire had to maintain their own trained-bands if they



brought any to the city, but soon the charges began to fall on the city council. Money wherewith to pay their men was constantly being demanded by the generals. The councillors were much troubled. They knew that it would be very difficult to get the money from the citizens, but they also feared that it would be dangerous to refuse to grant supplies. They grumbled vigorously at the first instalment they had to furnish to the soldiers, and said they would not grant it "if it could otherwise be gotten;" but eventually they had to give way and provide the money as best they could. When the council levied a rate, a lieutenant and a file of soldiers went round with the collector to frighten the unwilling ones, and for a long time this used to occur every month. The plight of the citizens was made more wretched by the fact that the soldiers on duty on cold nights used to tear up fences, cut down trees, or seize on anything that would burn, to make fires for themselves. "Scarce a night happened," says an historian, "without quarrels, blood and murder among the men, which the vigilancy of the governor, Sir Thomas Glemham, could by no means prevent, and he himself was several times in danger to be slain, in endeavouring to keep them quiet."

**Yorkshire Battles and Prisoners.**—Wetherby, Tadcaster, Sheffield, Wakefield, Leeds, Halifax, and Bradford were all at various times in the year 1642-3 subject to sieges and "stormings" by one side or the other, and sometimes a town was, within the same month, taken by each party in turn. Yorkshire was for some years a scene of bloodshed and misery. Unfortunate prisoners taken by the Royalists were usually brought to the city and closely confined in the Castle

and the Merchants' Hall. Some were confined in Davy Hall, too. This old building is not now in existence ; but its site is known as Davygate. These prisoners were not ill-treated, for the city councillors arranged for doctors, or, more frequently, barbers, to attend to their wounds, while care was taken to see that the dead had decent burial. Provisions, however, were scarce, and some poor prisoners received permission to go round with baskets to the back doors of people's houses to collect what fragments they could. Close confinement in rooms that were much overcrowded, and want of victuals worked havoc amongst the prisoners, and fevers so raged amongst them that many died.

**Stuart Yorkshire.**—The Yorkshire of 1643, the scene of so many hasty marches and murderous conflicts, was not such as we know it to-day. It was not at that time marked out into numberless fields and plots by walls, hedges, or ditches. Such obstacles to the march of bodies of men across country were comparatively few. What are now the big towns of the West Riding, such as Bradford, Leeds, and Wakefield, were then only large villages. Their populations all added together would not amount to as much as the present population of York.

**Stuart Yorkshiremen.**—Most of the people of the industrial classes in Yorkshire were either engaged in wool-combing and weaving, which they carried on in their own homes, or else worked on the land. In this county, as in the rest of England, it was mainly the nobility and gentlemen, with their retainers, who supported the King's cause ; while the wool-combers and weavers in the West were the best fighters for Sir

Thomas Fairfax and the Parliamentary side. There was, for the people, very little of what we now-a-days call "education," but there was in every town a small "grammar school" in which a boy would get a smattering of learning if his father could afford it. All except the very lowest class took quite an intelligent interest in the affairs of the country, and it is quite probable that a larger proportion of the total population did so just before the great Civil War than at any other period of English History. There seems also to have been a less strongly marked class distinction than there is now. There were no factories where huge numbers of persons were under the control of masters, but each head of a household, where the woollen industry was carried on, was his own master, and was, in consequence, independent in speech and action.

**The Trained-Bands.**—In Yorkshire, and of course in every other county, many of the able-bodied young men before the war had belonged to the "trained-bands," and had been required to attend one drill per month. This was not a very extensive training, and did not result in very good soldiers, except in the case of London. The London trained-bands, however, proved to be the best foot-soldiers in the war and the great mainstay of the Parliament. A characteristic feature of the trained-bands was that the soldiers of one county were very unwilling to follow their leaders into another except in very special instances. Thus leaders in Yorkshire might get men together for King or Parliament, but they could not easily get them to fight very far from home.

**Stuart Soldiers.**—The Stuart foot-soldier was either a pikeman or a musketeer. If the former, he would

use an ash shaft, eight feet long, with a two-foot blade at the end of it. This weapon would therefore be



A PIKEMAN OF THE STUART PERIOD.

*By special permission of the General Officer  
Commanding Woolwich District.*

nearly twice his own height! He wore a steel breast-plate and back-plate, and a steel cap with a leather lining. All the best recruits were made pikemen. The musketeer was quite a beast of burden. His musket was so heavy that he could not hold it to his shoulder, but had to carry a crutch to rest it on. Heavy bullets and rough powder added to his burden, while hung round him was a coil of inflammable rope-match with which to "touch-off" his weapon. It is no wonder that sometimes he blew up himself and his companions! Groups of pikemen had to fight in conjunction with groups of musketeers,

and, when the enemy charged, the pikemen had to protect their brother musketeers. The musketeers



Loading.



Getting the Rope-Match  
ready for "Touching-Off."



Firing at the Enemy.

A STUART MUSKETEER.

usually fought six ranks deep. When the front rank had fired off, they ran to the rear, then the second rank fired, and so on. By the time all six ranks had fired in turn, the original first rank had managed to re-load. The cavalry formed a very important branch of the army. Every one who joined the cavalry had to bring his own horse. Until Oliver Cromwell raised his celebrated troops of horsemen, none could stand against the cavalry of Prince Rupert, who fought on the King's side. Each cavalry-man had a leathern jacket with steel back-plate and breast-plate, and a steel cap. He had also two flint-lock pistols, but he was very careful only to use them at short range, for they would not carry very far in a straight line, even if they could be persuaded to go off at all !

**Thoughts on the War.**—In thinking of this Civil War, we must remember that the England of that time contained fewer people than London does now, its population being less than five millions, while in all Yorkshire there would not be so many people as there now are in Leeds.

The condition of the country was very bad. Men's thoughts were no longer on their accustomed employments, for everything gave way to military considerations. Yorkshiremen saw their crops neglected, or destroyed, while the looms were deserted. Later, the fields stood desolate for want of workers. Meanwhile, the country as a whole fell far behind Holland in foreign trade, for the Dutch eagerly seized on the opportunity of extending their commerce and establishing their superiority over English merchants. The whole nation was blind to everything but the war.

**York's Charter Violated.**—There were many signs in York that both Council and citizens, after a few months of war, would gladly have retired from the conflict if they could. In January 1643, they began to discuss the appointment of a new Lord Mayor in place of Sir Edmund Cowper, in whose year of office the war had broken out. He was an ardent Royalist, and had done a great deal for the King's cause. An urgent message, therefore, came to the Council from the Earl of Newcastle that the Lord Mayor should be re-elected. But such a course was forbidden by the ancient charter of rights of York, so the Council said they could not comply with the Earl's request, as the same man could not be Lord Mayor for two years in succession. The Earl of Newcastle perhaps thought that, in their present frame of mind, the Council would not be likely to elect a Lord Mayor so serviceable to the King's cause as Sir Edmund Cowper, so he insisted on the re-election. The Council protested as vigorously as they dared, but the Earl carried matters with a high hand. He sent Sir Thomas Glemham, the governor of the city, and two hundred men with pikes and muskets, down to the Guildhall, where the election was to take place, to see that his wishes were obeyed. Thus York had to submit. Next year it was the same. The Council were again ordered to re-elect Sir Edmund Cowper, which they did after only a very feeble resistance.

**The Troubles of the Citizens.**—During the year 1643, the demand of £3000 from the Council for soldiers' wages had become almost a monthly matter. The city plate had to be mortgaged, and money borrowed from private people, to pay these



large sums. The Council's protests and complaints were all in vain. The citizens had to submit to free billeting of soldiers in their houses, while country people coming to market were frequently pillaged of their produce. Some of the aldermen determined to stand the military levies no longer, and tried to escape assessment by going to live outside the city. But the general ordered them back again on pain of forfeiture of their property. Thus the citizens of York began the memorable year of 1644 thoroughly under the thumb of the military authorities, and with a Royalist Lord Mayor entering on his third successive year of office.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### ROYALIST YORK AGAINST THE WEST RIDING AND HULL.

**High Royalist Hopes About Yorkshire.**—One of the first victories of the Earl of Newcastle, after he came to York as the King's general, was over Sir Thomas Fairfax at Tadcaster. Moreover, by establishing a strong force at Pontefract, he prevented Fairfax from sending any help to the Puritan towns of the West Riding. King Charles was overjoyed at the news. He wrote a very grateful and flattering letter to the Earl, in which he called him "the principal instrument in keeping the crown upon my head," and concluded with the words, "the business in Yorkshire I account almost done." But both King and Earl had entirely under-estimated the ability and energy of Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, eventually, brought about the destruction of all their hopes in Yorkshire.

**The Great York Parliamentarian.**—Sir Thomas, the eldest son of old Lord Fairfax, of Denton, was one of the most gallant spirits in the Parliamentary ranks. His sympathy and frankness attached his soldiers to him by ties of affection, while his bravery won their admiration. “The rider on the white horse,” as he



SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX, THE HERO OF MANY YORKSHIRE FIGHTS,  
AND, AFTERWARDS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE  
PARLIAMENTARY ARMY.

was fondly called, was always in the thick of the fight. He may have lacked prudence, but he was never deficient in any other military quality.

**The Royalist Hopes Deferred.**—The Earl of Newcastle was anxious to hurry with his forces to the South to join the King. It was necessary first that he should subdue the Yorkshire Puritans. But, mainly through

the efforts of Sir Thomas, this was never accomplished. When the Royalists had occupied Leeds and Wakefield, and Bradford was making its last effort to keep out the King's forces, it was Sir Thomas who fearlessly rode to its relief through a country held by the enemy. It was he who drove the Royalists out of Leeds again and victoriously entered Wakefield. These great successes so disturbed the Earl of Newcastle, that he withdrew all his army to York, and left the West Riding Parliamentarians masters of the situation. Thus the "business of Yorkshire" was far from being "almost done," as King and Earl had fondly imagined.

**York Becomes More Formidable.**—Meanwhile York had welcomed a royal visitor in the person of the Queen, who had just returned from Holland. She had landed at Bridlington Quay under the convoy of seven Dutch men-of-war. Marching through Malton, her company entered York by way of Heworth Moor. She came with a huge store of arms and several cannon, which had been bought with money raised on the crown jewels. York was soon made into a most formidable fortress. Cannon were placed at Monk Bar, Walmgate Bar, and Micklegate Bar, while the Old Bayle (opposite the Castle) and other commanding places were also fortified.

At several lane-ends in the city, ditches and mounds were made, and barricades formed of barrels filled with earth. The Earl of Newcastle also ordered that eight hundred men were to work daily at repairing the walls and "securing the ditches of the city." The moat, which then ran round outside the walls, had no doubt become filled in with rubbish or overgrown

with weeds in many parts, but now it was to be cleared in order that it might offer more difficulty to an attacking party. There were eight hundred men in "from the country" helping to do the work. The citizens had to pay for the labour, and, besides this, to contribute towards the wages of the soldiers, furnish them with food, and submit to finding a large number of them with free quarters at the rate of three or four per house.

**Scarborough Castle.**—The Castle at Scarborough had been placed by Parliament in the hands of Sir Hugh Cholmley, one of their most ardent supporters. He had been, in fact, one of the four Parliamentary Committee-Men at York who had caused Charles so much annoyance. To the great satisfaction of the Queen, Sir Hugh now made up his mind to return to his allegiance to the King. He was one of a large number of men who agreed with Charles on religious matters, but who objected to his unconstitutional acts. The war was fast becoming a religious one, and, as Parliament was in favour of Puritan forms of worship as opposed to rule by bishops, he lost sympathy with their cause. While in this frame of mind he received, and accepted, an invitation from the Queen to come to a conference at York. When he returned to Scarborough, it was to hold that place for the King! Soon after this he paid a second visit to York, thereby almost losing his castle. Some of his soldiers were Puritans, and they persuaded the garrison to return to their allegiance to Parliament. On the following day, however, Cholmley returned with 1,500 men, and, when he re-appeared before the walls, the garrison were soon compelled to surrender to him.

**The Hothams of Hull.**—It seems doubtful how long the Queen stayed in York, but probably her visit lasted between two and three months. While she was still in the city, letters came from Captain Hotham, the son of Sir John Hotham, which showed that the two Hothams were only waiting their chance to come over to the King's side. Sir John had done the King very great harm at a most critical time, but now, like most of the nobility, he wished to take up the King's cause. He was doubtless much influenced also by jealousy of the Fairfaxes. However, he did not succeed in gaining Hull for the Royalists, as the Queen was hoping, but eventually lost his own life as a traitor. A similar fate befel his son.

**A Daring Plan.**—The treachery of the Hothams to the Parliamentary cause had considerably weakened the resources of the Fairfaxes, while the coming of the Queen had strengthened the hands of the Royalists. In a retreat to Leeds, Sir Thomas and his father had lost, from constant Royalist attacks, many men killed and prisoners, and their forces were in a very dangerous position. "Still," as Sir Thomas wrote, "the tears of the wives and children of those who had been taken prisoners compelled us to think of some way to redeem these men." In the dead of night, therefore, with a part of his forces, he made a daring ride to surprise Wakefield, and, having captured there one thousand four hundred Royalists, he was then in a position to effect an exchange of prisoners!

**An Uphill Struggle.**—But the Fairfaxes were still very hard pressed. Soon only Bradford remained to them, for the Royalists were much superior in numbers, arms, and stores. The greater part of the forces of

Sir Thomas and his father were "clubmen," that is, raw countrymen, with no training or experience, armed with scythe-blades, pitchforks, or whatever else they could pick up. With such an army Sir Thomas marched out to meet the Earl of Newcastle, but on Adwalton Moor he was, after a brave struggle, defeated. Old Lord Fairfax retired to Bradford in safety. Sir Thomas, when he found this out, was at Halifax, whither he had retreated. At considerable risk he determined to re-join his father. Bradford was besieged, but it was the post of honour as well as the post of danger, and the brave and generous nature of Sir Thomas led him to resolve to share his father's fate whatever it might be. Their outlook was most gloomy. Bradford was doomed. No other place in the West Riding was in better plight. Hull was controlled by the Hothams, who were, as we have seen, secretly friendly to the Royalists.

**The Fairfaxes Escape to Hull.**—The Fairfaxes were almost despairing, when a messenger contrived to get into Bradford with the news that the citizens of Hull had risen against the Hothams, and now warmly invited Lord Fairfax to come to fill the vacant post of governor. He gladly accepted, and that same night retired from Bradford with some forces and made his way eventually to Hull. Sir Thomas stayed behind in Bradford, but it was hopeless to try to defend the place; so he finally cut his way out, and, after many a hardship and adventure, weary and wounded, and almost alone, he also reached Hull.

**Fascinating Memoirs.**—The bold and daring feats of this remarkable man, the startling situations in which he more than once found himself, his daring

and coolness in battle, are only equalled by the modesty and simplicity with which he tells his own story in his memoirs. It is a most unassuming, yet interesting, narrative, and shows in every page the good and pious heart of the writer.

**The York Army Besieges Hull.**—The fact that Hull was still saved for the Parliamentarians, coupled with the fact that two such remarkable commanders as the Fairfaxes were inside it, was sufficient to keep the Earl of Newcastle in the North with his army. Hull must be besieged and captured for the Royalists before it would be safe for him to leave Yorkshire. Here was the obstacle on account of which the King's hopes from the North were completely disappointed. "Hull and Plymouth," says a great historian, "saved the Parliamentary cause." And the Fairfaxes saved Hull!

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### THE GREAT SIEGE OF YORK.

**The Fatal Delay at Hull.**—The Earl of Newcastle was not a very able commander, and the difficulties he met with before Hull were too great for him. His army contained many "pressed men" who were anxious to be back at their homes, so his strength was soon greatly diminished by deserters. The land round Hull is very flat, and the besiegers had to dig trenches to protect themselves from the firing of the townsmen. A clever scheme of the younger Fairfax let the water from the Humber and the River Hull into these trenches so that they became untenable. Then



his energy led to the organizing of sorties on the part of the garrison, which caused great loss to the Earl's forces. Above all, Parliament commanded the sea, and thus the besieged could not be starved out. On October 12, 1643, the Royalist army withdrew, having lost half its men. The King had hoped that, by the help of the army from the North, he could overwhelm his enemies in the South before they became too strong. Instead of this, the Royalist army in the North had been detained so long that the Parliamentarians had secured the upper hand in the South, and were in a position to send help to their friends in the North. The energy and ability of the Fairfaxes had thus caused a delay which proved fatal to the Royalist cause.

**The Scots Again.**—The end of the year 1643 saw the Parliamentarians and the Scots come to an agreement on religious matters, with which was joined an arrangement whereby the Scots promised to send their army into England to help against the Royalists. It is true that the Scots insisted on the payment of large sums by the English Parliament as a condition of their help, but at that critical time a Scottish army could render invaluable assistance.

**York Prepares for the Defensive.**—The Scots crossed the Tweed in January 1644, and the Earl of Newcastle with his York army set out to try to stop them from coming farther south. But the Fairfaxes were now free. The old lord was besieging the Royalists in Selby, while Sir Thomas was helping the Puritans of Lancashire. In April, while the Earl of Newcastle was in Durham still facing the Scots, the younger Fairfax returned and joined his father. Their united

forces stormed Selby and took prisoner three thousand Royalists. The Earl of Newcastle, on hearing the bad news, at once retreated and shut himself up in York. The soldiers and citizens of the city well knew that a siege was now impending. They hurried provisions in from the country, looked to the fortifications and barricades, and began to destroy all houses close to the gates and walls, so that the enemy should have no shelter near the city's defences.

**The Tables Turned.**—Meanwhile the Scots under the Earl of Leven and Puritan Yorkshiremen under Lord Fairfax joined forces at Tadcaster and marched on York. The tables were turned! The Fairfaxes and their men were now amongst the besiegers, while the Earl of Newcastle and his York army were the besieged. But the great Royal fortress was strong, and could really afford to laugh at the combined forces which were trying to shut it in. Even though the besiegers numbered twenty thousand men, the north side of the city still remained open.

**Completely Surrounded.**—Matters were, however, soon to become more serious for York. Parliament decided to send the Earl of Manchester with a force of Puritans from the Eastern Counties to help in the siege. With them came the celebrated Oliver Cromwell and his famous cavalry. Now indeed York was really shut in. The Scots were encamped out Bishopthorpe way, the Fairfaxes were along the Fulford and Heslington roads, while the Earl of Manchester's forces were in the direction of Clifton. On all sides York was threatened. The King with his army was helpless at Oxford. The only hope of relief was in that dashing Royalist cavalry leader, Prince

Rupert, who was then in Lancashire. To him the King wrote a letter, in which he said, "If York be lost I shall esteem my crown little less." He also urged him to lay all new enterprises aside and immediately march with all his forces to the relief of the city. But from April 19 to July 1 York was to suffer all the horrors of a close and determined siege.

**Close Quarters.**—On the top of Lamel, or Windmill, Hill, on the way to Heslington, the besiegers placed five cannon, and these did much damage to the walls on that side, to Clifford's Tower, and to many houses in that neighbourhood. Then there was another battery in St. Lawrence's Churchyard, only about fifty yards from Walmgate Bar, and in the church and houses around, which apparently had not been destroyed, there were nearly three thousand besiegers. It is clear that there must have been severe fighting here. The Church of St. Nicolas, which then stood just outside Walmgate Bar, was completely ruined. On the Clifton side, also, the combatants were almost as near to each other. St. Olave's Church is only about one hundred yards away from the King's Manor House, where there was a strong body of Royalist troops. Yet on the roof of the Church there was a besieging battery of the Parliamentarians, who had somehow or other managed to drag up their cannon.

**Siege Horrors.**—Every day had its horrors. The city was over-crowded with men. The streets were filthy, the wounded were numerous. Spotted fever broke out and raged amongst soldiers and citizens. Sorties and counter-attacks were frequent. Provisions in the city were very dear, although there does not seem to have been a famine of plain food. Men were

constantly called on to repel the more daring attacks of the besiegers, who were always on the look-out to harass the garrison.

**The Tunnel.**—In Bootham the Parliamentarians were digging an underground tunnel, by which they hoped to pass under the walls, and so get into the King's Manor House. When the garrison learned this, they arranged for a desperate sortie to destroy the work. At the same time, to divert the strength of the garrison, Lord Fairfax attacked the Walmgate Bar entrance. Both sortie and attack were unsuccessful, and resulted in very great loss of life to besieged and besiegers.

**Futile Negotiations.**—The object of the Earl of Newcastle was, of course, to hold the city until the arrival of Prince Rupert. But the defenders were in sore straits. He therefore resolved to open negotiations for surrendering, not so much with the intention of giving up the city, but rather of stopping the struggle for a time and so gaining a useful delay. A week was spent in negotiations between the Earl of Newcastle on one side, and the three Parliamentary generals, Leven, Manchester, and Fairfax, on the other. When it was clear that the two parties could not come to an agreement as to terms of surrender, hostilities started again. The besiegers took up the work with redoubled vigour, perhaps feeling that they had been outwitted, and being certain that there was little enough time left if the city was to be taken before help came.

**The Mine.**—The tunnelling in Bootham was therefore continued, and underneath St. Mary's Tower, one of the angles of the walls surrounding St. Mary's Abbey, a mine of gunpowder was placed. Luckily for the garrison, the Scottish officer who had to fire it



*Photo by]*

*[W. Watson.*

ST. MARY'S TOWER (THE SCENE OF THE EXPLOSION).

did so too soon. The explosion came before the besiegers had expected, and they were not ready to make that combined attack on the city which might have resulted in its being stormed. It was Trinity Sunday, and the Royalist officers were attending divine service in the Minster when they heard the terrific report. They rushed at once to the place, gathering defenders as they went. They found that some hundreds of the besiegers had clambered in where the explosion had made a breach in the wall. But these men were unsupported and the defenders were brave and desperate. Most of those who had got in were forced to yield themselves as prisoners, for their retreat had been cut off by a body of Royalists, who had slipped round behind them. This fight took place in the orchard of King's Manor House, to which the stormers had penetrated, so the prisoners who had been captured were, in the morning, by way of a joke, charged with having come "to steal the King's apples."

**A Great Misfortune.**—St. Mary's Tower was almost totally destroyed by the explosion, but a fragment of it can still be seen built into a house at the corner of Marygate and Bootham. Affixed to it is a board with a printed account of the event. In St. Mary's Tower the Lord President of the North had been accustomed to keep the charters of the religious houses of the northern counties. These were now, unfortunately, almost all destroyed, along with other valuable ecclesiastical documents.

**How Rupert came to York.**—As the month of June drew to a close, the besiegers made desperate attempts to take the city, but were each time repulsed. News had come of Prince Rupert's approach with a large

Royalist army, and they knew that the siege must be raised when he came near, for they dared not await his coming with their lines in extended siege formation. If they did not take York quickly, they must abandon their attempts until they had tried conclusions with the advancing army. When, therefore, they heard that Rupert was at Knaresborough, they marched westwards from York to meet him, concluding that he would come directly to this city, and probably cross the Nidd at Skip Bridge. To keep them in their error, Rupert sent a body of cavalry to seize and hold that bridge, and this made the Parliamentarians draw up in battle formation to await him. But Rupert did not wish for a battle until he had joined his forces with those at York, so with the rest of his army he had gone north to Boroughbridge, and, crossing the Ure there, and the Swale at Thornton Bridge, had approached the city from the north. He thus completely outwitted his opponents. While they were waiting for him on the west side of York, he and his army were on the other side of the Ouse, approaching the city from the north.

**A Night of Revelry.**—So it happened that on the evening of July 1, on the same day that the besieging army had set out to intercept him, Rupert entered York at the head of a body of two hundred cavaliers. The rest of his army he had left for the night encamped on the north side of the city in the Forest of Galtres. As he rode through Monk Bar, the garrison and citizens gave way to the most unrestrained expressions of delight. “Salutes were fired, the bells in the churches were rung, bonfires were kindled and wild triumphal revelry and merriment filled the city, in place of the doubt and despair which had so lately possessed it !”

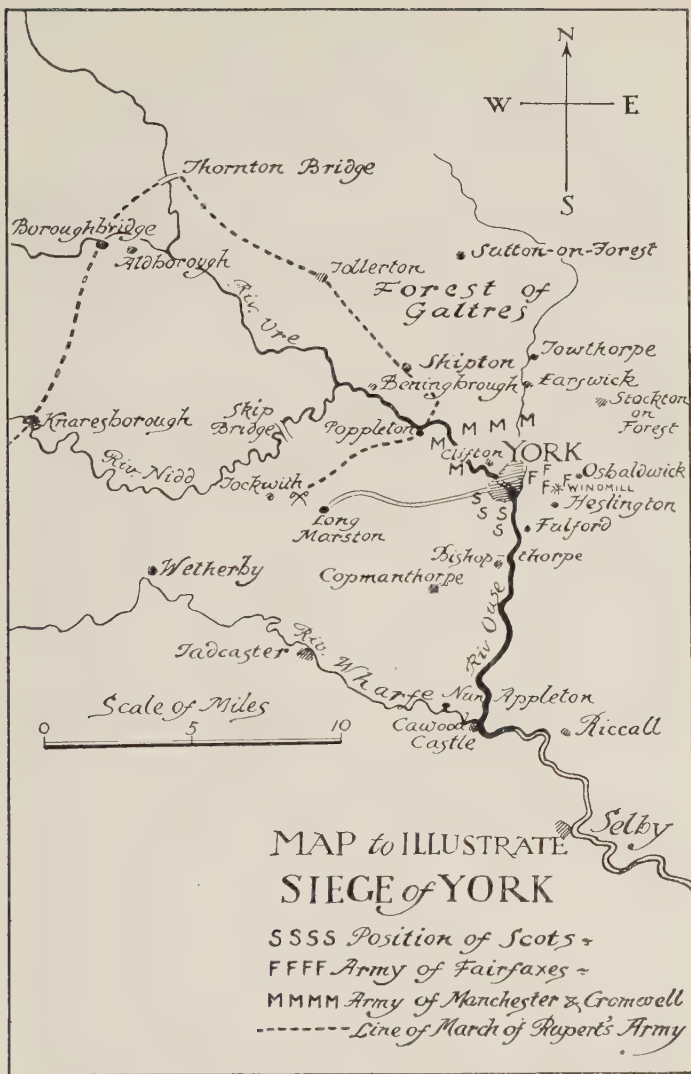


## CHAPTER XXXII.


## FROM YORK TO MARSTON MOOR.

**The Divided Royalist Council.**—It was now necessary for the Royalists to decide on a course of action. Should the combined forces at York wait until their numbers were equal to those of the Parliamentarians? Or should they march out at once against the enemy? Prince Rupert was, perhaps, one of the finest leaders in a cavalry charge that the world has ever seen, but he was not a prudent counsellor. His most brilliant achievements had usually been counterbalanced by some rash course of action immediately afterwards. He was not the man, therefore, to advocate cautious measures, and, as we might have expected from his temperament, he was hotly in favour of an advance without delay. He had with him the letter of the King, in which His Majesty had so urgently advised him to go to the help of York. This letter contained some ambiguous phrases, which Prince Rupert interpreted to mean that the enemy should at once be attacked. The Earl of Newcastle and his friends pointed out that their own inferiority in numbers, and the reported disagreements among the generals of the Parliamentary army, were all in favour of delay. But in vain. Rupert's eagerness and the King's letter, although the Prince never showed it to anyone, carried the day. The Earl of Newcastle, very reluctantly, had to fall in with Rupert's plans.

**Signs of Disunion among the Parliamentary Army.**—It is now a matter of history that there was so much



disunion amongst the leaders of the Parliamentary army that, if the Royalists had waited, it is possible an open quarrel would have occurred and thus given the King's men a much better chance of victory. Cromwell and the Earl of Manchester were at enmity, while the Scots got on badly with the rest of the army; hence it was not likely that the generals would have long continued to act in friendly concert, and it was well for them that a battle was so soon to take place. It seems strange that, in the army of King's men, where delay would have been more prudent, immediate action was decided on, whereas, in the Parliamentary army, where the prospect of immediate fighting was the only sure way to keep their forces united, they had decided to retreat.

**A Quick Right-About.**—In this manner it happened that the foremost body of Royalist Horse came in sight of the forces of Sir Thomas Fairfax just after the latter had left Marston Moor, where the Parliamentary army had been encamped. It was a great surprise to Fairfax, and caused him considerable dismay, for the whole Parliamentary army was in retreat at the time. The Scots had almost reached Tadcaster, the Earl of Manchester was three miles away, while Sir Thomas with his forces had, as we have seen, just started on their march. If the Royalist army could have been brought up quickly, a disaster for the Parliamentarians would have been certain. Unfortunately for the King's cause, Rupert's forces could only be brought up slowly, as they had to cross the Ouse by a bridge of boats at Poppleton, while many of the Earl of Newcastle's men were clamouring for wages at York, and for a time refused to march out at all.  Sir Thomas Fairfax was able, therefore, by his promptitude, to

set matters right again for his side. He sent off mounted messengers post haste to hurry the Parliamentary forces back to their original position. So quickly did they all return that, by three o'clock in the afternoon, they were all drawn up again on Marston Moor.

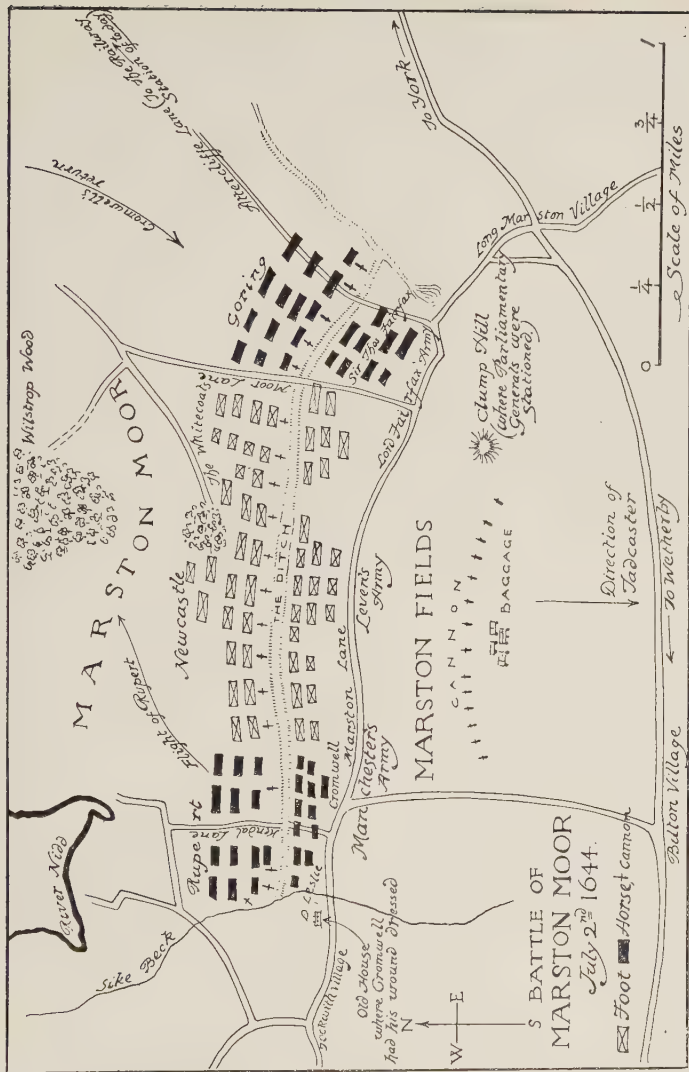
**The Site of the Battle.**—Marston Moor is nearly seven miles from York along the Wetherby Road. If we turn to the right on reaching Long Marston, and go up Marston Lane, taking the second turn to the left towards Tockwith, we shall pass over the battlefield. If we imagine a triangle with Long Marston, Tockwith, and Wilstrop Wood as its three corners, we shall then have an idea of the part where most of the fighting took place. All the slope on our left was called Marston Fields, and was, on July 2, 1644, covered with corn and rye, but there were no fences or walls. Out to the right was the moor, for the most part uncultivated, the whole of the moor and fields being unenclosed and common land. Stretching all the way from Long Marston to Tockwith was a ditch, very difficult to pass in some places, but not in others, and alongside this was a hedge of brushwood. It is now not easy to tell exactly where this ditch was, but probably it was about three hundred yards to our right, as we stand in Marston Lane, facing Tockwith. The Long Marston end of this ditch was difficult to cross, except by a narrow lane called Moor Lane, which had a hedge on one side of it and a ditch on the other. About this part also there was some very bad ground, covered with furze and trees, and containing unexpected swampy places and dykes.

**The Disposition of the Forces.**—As we go along the supposed site of the great ditch towards Tockwith,

we may picture Parliamentary men on our left hand, and Royalists on our right all the way to Tockwith. First there was old Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas with their Yorkshire levies, horse and foot, facing Lord Goring and his Royalist cavalry, with whom there were also some foot-soldiers. Between these two bodies was the worst ground on the whole battlefield. Which-ever body attacked across it would have a terrible time. Then came the Scots, under the Earl of Leven, facing the Earl of Newcastle's forces. Between these two central bodies the ditch was not formidable, and could easily be crossed. Far away at the Tockwith end was the Parliamentary left wing, with the infantry under the Earl of Manchester, and the famous Ironside cavalry, led by Oliver Cromwell; opposite them was Prince Rupert with his dashing horse-soldiers, who had never yet met forces over whom they could not ride. Thus the two most redoubtable leaders in this great Civil War were to try conclusions with each other, face to face.

**The Battle Begins.**—The great battle of Marston Moor did not begin till nearly seven o'clock in the evening, and both Rupert and Newcastle had not expected any fighting until next day. In fact the Prince was eating his supper and Newcastle was asleep in his coach when the battle began. But Rupert had brought his army too near to the Parliamentary lines to permit of his soldiers resting properly without being molested. Possibly it may have been in consequence of the fact that the Royalists were plainly not expecting an attack that an assault was made on them that night.

**The Fairfaxes.**—The Fairfaxes had a most difficult part to cross to reach the foe. Hedges, ditches, furze bushes, swampy ground—all hampered their attack.



There was just Moor Lane which offered them a narrow opening, but it was lined on both sides with Royalist marksmen. Boldly and persistently the Yorkshire Puritans pressed forward, but the slaughter was dreadful, and they had at last to give way. They retreated in confusion pell mell together, with broken ranks, each in despair fleeing for his life, and many being crushed and trampled on. The exultant Royalists crowded through the bad ground after them, and killed a great number. Old Lord Fairfax thought all was lost, and galloped away with some of his men to Cawood Castle. There, finding the place fireless and cheerless, he betook himself to bed ! His son, bleeding from wounds in the face and head, barely escaped with his life. He had penetrated right through the Royalist left wing, and the cavalry with him had driven off a small body of Royalists, who fled towards York. Sir Thomas then returned, and, being on the wrong side of the ditch, and alone, was like to have been taken prisoner ; but he removed the white badge which marked him as a Parliamentary man, and so escaped unnoticed.

**Foolish Tactics.**—Now mark the mistake of the triumphant Royalist left wing ! Instead of wheeling to their right when they had crossed the ditch, and attacking the Parliamentary centre where the Scots were stationed, most of them went far to the rear to plunder the baggage of their foes. They did not even take possession of the Parliamentary cannon which were at their mercy on the hillside.

**The Scots.**—A few troops of this triumphant left wing, however, had the wisdom to leave the plundering of the baggage till the battle was over, and began to



assail the rear of the Scottish forces. This seems to have caused several regiments of Scots to think they had lost the day. They began to take to their heels, until there was a great crowd of them running off as fast as they could along the Tadcaster road. A gentleman who met, as he says, a "shoal of them," writes that they were crying out "Wae's us! Wae's us! We're a' undone!" By and by the Earl of Leven and many of his officers also galloped off the field and, it is said, did not finally stop till they reached Leeds! But we must not forget that there was still a large body of Scots left, both foot and cavalry, bravely holding their own, and materially helping to win the battle.

**Curious Facts** —It is a singular thing that in such a great victory for the Parliament as Marston Moor turned out to be, their three chief generals should have fled from the field, thinking the battle utterly lost. For it seems certain that the Earl of Manchester also retired from the fray. When he saw Royalists plundering the baggage, and Scots fleeing in all directions, doubtless he held for a time the same opinion as Lord Fairfax and the Earl of Leven had held, and acted accordingly. Later on, however, he returned with some forces and did good service. Everywhere the fugitives carried the news of a Parliamentary rout. At the Royalist towns of Newark and Oxford, "bells were rung, bonfires lighted, and fireworks let off amid great rejoicings in honour of the victory, whilst the news travelling westward gladdened the hearts of Charles and his friends." It was but a short-lived joy!

**Cromwell and Rupert.**—The whole face of the battle

was to be changed by the events which were taking place on the Tockwith side. Here Rupert's men had met their match. For the first time they had come against a foe over whom they could not ride. For a while the issue between the two great cavalry leaders was doubtful, especially during the temporary absence of Cromwell to have a wound in his neck dressed. But, when he returned, his stern and disciplined 'Iron-sides,' bravely supported by Scottish cavalry, gained the upper hand, after a hard struggle. The famous Royalist horsemen fled, and their dashing leader—the hero of a hundred charges—was nearly captured. How different from the course now adopted by Cromwell would Rupert's action have been in similar circumstances! Keeping his men well in hand, the great Puritan general did not carry the pursuit too far, but returned to the field of battle to see how the rest of the Parliamentary army had fared. He found it in desperate straits. Both front and rear of the centre was being attacked, while there remained no right wing worth speaking of.

**Reversed Positions.**—Cromwell and his troops arrived on the Long Marston side of the battlefield, and took up a position almost in the very place where the Royalist left wing had been. The baggage plunderers saw his return. They realized to their intense disgust that the battle had still to be won. They re-formed ranks and charged down the hill on the new foe boldly enough; but to no purpose. They were, after an obstinate resistance, routed and driven off. The Royalist troops attacking the rear of the Parliamentary centre were next disposed of, and then the Royalist centre alone remained. The return of Cromwell with

his victorious left wing had totally changed the face of things !

**The Whitecoats.**—The troops composing the Royalist centre were chiefly the Earl of Newcastle's men, but the flower of them all was the celebrated "Whitecoat" regiment. Its companies had been raised principally from the moors of North Yorkshire, and wore coats of undyed cloth. They were their leader's favourites, and well they deserved their high reputation. When other Royalist troops were cut down, or had fled, they maintained their ranks unbroken. At the close of the battle they were being attacked on all sides. Scots, Ironsides, the troops of Manchester, who had returned to the field—all assailed them. In the falling darkness of that summer evening, the brave and steadfast Whitecoats kept up their hopeless struggle, and met their death almost to a man. No wonder the natives of Marston, when the mists roll over the Moor, fancy they can picture the ghost-like forms of the gallant Whitecoats, returning once more to the scene of their last great stand !

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### THE "SWING OF THE PENDULUM" AT YORK.

**A Piteous Spectacle.**—After the great defeat of the Royalists at Marston Moor, the renewal of the siege at York was certain. The hundreds of fugitives who had escaped from the fight and who were clamouring for admittance at Micklegate Bar, were, therefore, not allowed to enter unless they could show

that they had previously belonged to the city's garrison. The work of identifying such men could go on but slowly. All through the night of July 2, 1644, weary and wounded fugitives dragged themselves to the city gate only to add to the crowd already there. "During the tedious admission, many fainted with fatigue and loss of blood, so that the air was filled with cries and lamentation."

**Deserted by Leaders.**—Prince Rupert and the Earl of Newcastle, who had both escaped from the battle, did not meet again in any friendly spirit at York. They blamed each other for the great disaster, and both resolved to leave the city. The Prince, with a poor remnant of his army, went back to Lancashire. But the Earl of Newcastle, considering the King's cause hopeless, and disgusted with his own lack of success, rode to Scarborough, and almost immediately embarked for the Continent. York was now left with but a small garrison under the command of the governor, Sir Thomas Glemham, while many of its cannon had been lost at Marston Moor.

**The Surrender.**—On July 4, the victorious Parliamentary army arrived again before the walls of York, and sternly summoned the garrison to surrender. The Royalists were far outnumbered, yet they boldly resolved to resist rather than submit to humiliating terms. The besiegers thereupon began to make vigorous assaults upon the walls, and it was soon evident to the governor that he could not long withstand them. He was afraid that the city, attacked on all sides, might be carried presently by a bold escalade, for his own men were as dispirited as his enemies were exultant. He therefore determined to

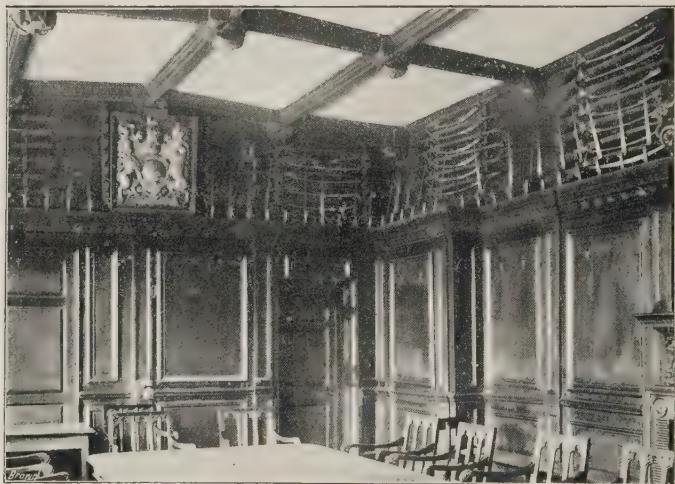
come to terms with the besiegers, and a treaty was finally arranged on July 15, 1644, on which day the city surrendered to the Parliamentarians.

**Lenient Treatment.**—The city garrison, doubtless through the intervention and good offices of the Fairfaxes, came off very well, considering how helpless their circumstances were. They were permitted to march out through Micklegate Bar, with their arms in their hands, drums beating, and colours flying. It was agreed that two-thirds of the Parliamentary garrison to be placed in the city should be Yorkshiremen, and that the citizens should enjoy all the privileges which they had possessed before the war. The churches also with their decorations and contents were to be protected from the Puritan zealots of the besieging army. There were, in addition, other points, all making for the comfort and well-being of the citizens under the new rule. Altogether, this treaty contained, as a contemporary historian says, many "extraordinary concessions."

**Honour to a Yorkshire Family.**—Old Lord Fairfax now became governor of York, and, probably, the citizens were pleased to see at their head a Parliamentarian of such moderate views. A still greater honour was reserved for his son, the famous Sir Thomas; for, soon after, this able and energetic leader was chosen to be the Commander-in-Chief of all the Parliamentary forces.

**A Lost Cause.**—The defeat at Marston Moor and the surrender of York meant ruin to the King's cause. After these great Royalist losses, it was only a question of time before the Parliamentary army became absolute masters of the country. In May 1646, King Charles retired from his hopeless independent struggle,

and placed himself under the protection of the Scots. They would have fought for him, if he would have definitely promised to give up his idea of establishing Episcopacy in Scotland. But they could get nothing from him beyond evasive answers. Finally they came to terms with the Parliament, this time on the question of the disposal of the King's person. The Scots had



*Photo by]*

*[W. Watson.*

SCENE OF THE PAYMENT OF £200,000 TO THE SCOTS, NOW A  
COMMITTEE ROOM OF THE CITY COUNCIL.

been promised large subsidies when they first came into England to help the English Parliament, and now an instalment of half this sum was paid to them. A convoy under the charge of General Skippon brought £200,000 to York, and handed it over, on New Year's Day, 1648, to the Scottish representatives in a little



room of the Guildhall, which looks out over the river Ouse. The Scottish army then surrendered the King into the hands of his late opponents, and went home.

**The Lament of the City Council.**—A very important York man at this time was Sir Thomas Widdrington. He was Recorder of this city when King Charles I. came to visit York in the early part of his reign, and on that occasion welcomed him in a most fulsome speech. But this did not prevent him, later, from becoming one of the most ardent of Parliamentary men. During the Commonwealth he was Member of Parliament for York, and became the Speaker of the House of Commons. He had spent a considerable portion of his leisure time in writing a book on the history of York, and now proposed to dedicate it to the "Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Common Council and Citizens of York." At the close of the war, he forwarded to the city authorities a draft of his book for approval, with the proposed dedication, but they received it "with coldness, and even with derision," and sent to the author as their reply a "sad complaint":—"You have told us in your discourse what our city used to be, and what our predecessors have been. We know not what this may have of honour in it, it hath but little of comfort. The wealth of our predecessors will not feed us. We are poor and miserable. Many of our inhabitants have forsaken our city, and those who have not she cannot maintain. York is left alone, trade is decayed, the river is become unnavigable by reason of shelves. The body of York is so dismembered, that no person cares for being the head of it. The suburbs, which were the legs of the city, are cut off. You cannot now see any confluence



of suitors or people at the courts. Our wealth is reduced to a narrow scantling. The talk of our former state and glory adds to our unhappiness. Give us leave to tell you that a good purse will be more useful to us than a long story." It is not surprising after this reply to hear that Sir Thomas Widdrington never published his book.

**The Lord Protector.**—The famous Oliver Cromwell, who now became head of the Commonwealth, visited York twice, once after the battle of Marston Moor, and again in 1650, the year following the execution of the King. On his second visit, no doubt, he found both Lord Mayor and Councillors Parliamentary in opinion. Immediately on the surrender of York in 1644, Sir Edmund Cowper, who had twice previously been illegally re-elected, was deposed. Some aldermen and councillors also were deprived of their offices, and punished for being too zealously Royalist. A strong Parliamentary was then at once appointed Lord Mayor. In the stress of those times, Parliament as well as King did not let the constitutional laws of the city stand in the way of military prudence. When Cromwell paid his second visit to York, therefore, the city officials were anxious not to offend him, probably as much from inclination as from policy; so they gave him a very respectful reception. Thinking that he might not like to see any evidences of the overthrown monarchy, they even took down the royal arms from the Micklegate and Bootham Bars, through which he had to pass.

**Puritan York.**—The habits and conduct of the people of England were very sharply looked after during the Puritan ascendancy, and the citizens of

York "suffered severely from the rigid government of their magistrates." The fact was that probably all the city officials were men of Puritan persuasion. No doubt they were zealous and God-fearing men, but they made from time to time a somewhat fanatical use of their authority. They stopped theatres and horse-racing. Even hunting parties, football matches, and the May-pole festivals in the villages round about were forbidden. York ale-houses had to be closed at sunset; cock-fighting and bear-baiting were vigorously suppressed. The Saturday market was suspended, lest people might be too tired to go to church next day. Swearers were very severely dealt with. In fact, the roysterer of the cavalier type found it difficult to stay in England and keep out of the stocks or the prisons.

**Changing Sides.**—Sir Thomas Fairfax, now Lord Fairfax, had long been sorry for his very prominent share in the war which had ended so disastrously for the King. He was never in favour of the execution of Charles, nor of the fanaticism of the extreme Puritans. His views were known, and probably that is one reason why he received such scant gratitude from the ruling authorities during the time of the Commonwealth. When Cromwell died, Lord Fairfax took possession of York in the name of the Parliament, but it is probable that even then he was intending to do what he could to restore the monarchy.

**A Momentous Meeting.**—There were two large Commonwealth armies in existence at Cromwell's death. One was at Newcastle under General Lambert, and the other was in Scotland under General Monk, who had been left in that country to maintain the Common-

wealth rule. The actions of General Lambert made everyone fear that, now Cromwell was dead, the army would be supreme. Of the intentions of General Monk no one knew anything, but General Lambert's soldiers deserted their leader when he began to march towards York, and many of them joined Monk. In York General Monk had a long talk with Lord Fairfax. What they said to each other we do not quite know, but we can make a shrewd guess from the events which followed. Lord Fairfax had been, previously to this, in communication with Monk, and on friendly terms with him. The momentous meeting was followed by a splendid banquet, which Lord Fairfax gave at his country seat at Nun Appleton to the General and his officers. After this Monk set off with his army to London, still without declaring himself. Soon after he reached that city, however, a letter was sent off to Prince Charles, then living in Flanders, inviting him to come back to this country as Charles II. Thus the monarchy was restored.

**Royalist York Again.**—It seems that the York citizens, in common with the rest of the country, were overjoyed at the "Restoration." On May 11, 1660, they jubilantly proclaimed Charles II. as King. Lord Fairfax, who had done so much to destroy the cause of the father, took a most prominent part in the rejoicings attending the accession of the son. He raised and commanded a troop of country gentlemen, who rode in procession, all "with their swords drawn and hats upon the points of them." Then, on the 29th of May, the new King's birthday and the day on which he publicly rode into London, the York citizens, amidst their rejoicings, demonstrated their dislike of the Commonwealth

rule. They hanged on a gallows in the Pavement the late State's arms, and the effigies of Cromwell and Bradshaw (the president at the trial of Charles I.), and then they burnt the lot with three barrels of tar.

**A Great Change.**—The country was now free from Puritan rule, and the pendulum of public feeling swung back to the other extreme. All those whose tendencies to evil had been sternly repressed during the Commonwealth now committed many excesses, and almost with impunity. The bulk of the nation gave way to a very loose mode of life, and the King himself set the worst of examples. Drunkenness, gambling, and other evil habits prevailed to such an extent that the reign of Charles II. earned an infamous reputation for wild and ungodly living. The people rushed from one extreme to the other, and no two consecutive periods of English history show such a great contrast in the life of the nation as do the Puritan Commonwealth and the reign of Charles II.

**A Vain Protest.**—The old Parliamentary soldiers of the West Riding were disgusted with the new state of affairs, and zealous Puritan preachers gave frenzied addresses on the wickedness of the times. Then a body of earnest men tried to set up a standard of rebellion at Otley, but they made no headway, and eighteen of the leaders were executed at York. They would have found it impossible to persuade the people of Yorkshire to engage in another war, no matter how righteous their cause. Most men had too vivid a recollection of the evils they had suffered during the recent Civil War to risk another outbreak. Besides,

few Yorkshiremen wished to have back again the old stern Puritan rule. So no matter how low the morality of the people sank during the life of Charles II., the best of men apparently made but a feeble protest.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### YORK AND THE LAST OF THE STUART KINGS.

**A Warm Reception.**—In 1665 a plague, similar to those which had visited York and other centres of population, began its ravages in London. So large a number died from its effects that, in history, it has always been known as the “Great Plague.” During the time that it was raging in the capital, many of the nobility and gentry left London to reside in the less infected districts, and the brother of the King, James, Duke of York, came to this city. Both he and his Duchess received every honour from the citizens. At this time James seems to have been popular, and many expressions of mutual goodwill passed between him and the York city officials.

**A Change of Feeling.**—The next thirteen years, however, worked a great change in the feeling of the city, and also in that of the country at large, towards the Duke, who was an ardent Roman Catholic. The nation had become much disturbed by rumours of plots to re-establish Roman Catholicism in England, and people were inclined to credit Roman Catholics with all sorts of bad intentions. But many of the so-called plots only existed in the imagination of un-

scrupulous men, like the infamous Titus Oates, who made up stories in order to get rewards. Englishmen were also becoming alarmed at the prospect of the Duke of York's succeeding his brother Charles II. The Commons, by the Test Act and Exclusion Bill, did all they could against him, and for some time he thought it best to reside abroad. But the King recalled him, and appointed him his representative in Scotland. Then, as he journeyed to take up his post, he came to York for the second time in 1679, when the tide of popular feeling was running strongly against him.

**A Cold Reception.**—The citizens on this occasion received the Duke very coldly. The gentleman residing in the big house, which James and his retinue proposed to occupy, would hardly give it up to his royal visitor, and, when at last he did so, he took with him most of the furniture. The address of welcome, to which James listened in the Minster Yard, was short and formal. It was evident that York was very unwilling to accept a Roman Catholic heir to the throne.

**The Reprimand.**—After James had left York for the North, the city council received a sharp letter from the King's secretary, who wrote:—"Being given to understand that you did not receive His Royal Highness upon his late coming to your city with that respect which was due to him, His Majesty commands me to signify to you his surprise at such proceeding." The letter concluded by the severe admonishment: "If the Duke shall come to the city again, he must be received in a manner similar to that on the occasion of his first visit."

**York Loses Its Charter.**—But York continued to take a strong course, and at the Parliamentary elections sent up Whig representatives to vote against all toleration towards Roman Catholics. Several other towns were doing the same, so King Charles adopted a plan to reduce them to submission to his wishes. By a writ of "*Quo Warranto*," he ordered the corporations to show "on what warrant," or right, they based their privileges. This meant that they had to produce in court at London their cherished charters. The York councillors were inclined to be obstinate in the matter, but finally, like the others, they surrendered their charter "for inspection," no doubt with feelings of considerable anger and dismay. They knew very well that they would not get it back again, except on the King's terms.

**York without a Charter.**—When Judge Jeffreys, so infamous in history for his cruelty and excesses, came to York for the Assizes in 1684, he was told by the King to keep an observant eye on the behaviour of the citizens. But the Corporation were anxious to get their charter back, so they put on their best manners, and were very submissive to his lordship. This served a useful purpose, for Jeffreys, on his return to London, said that York was not so bad as it had been represented.

**The Decrease of Power.**—The King, therefore, was willing to listen favourably to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of York when they went up to petition for a renewal of their charter, but he insisted that the names of the "Lord Mayor, Recorder, and all others who had any share in the government of the city should be named therein," so that they should be subject to



his approval before taking office. A proviso was also to be inserted that the King could "remove any of those persons" at pleasure. Thus York was to be by no means so independent as before.

**The Five Aldermen.**—Charles died before the new charter was finished, and the Duke of York became James II. The proclamation of the new King passed off quietly at York and elsewhere, no doubt somewhat to the surprise of everyone. Then almost immediately came a Parliamentary election, and, the new charter being still unfinished, York fell again into disfavour. The contest between the candidates in this city seems to have aroused very bitter feeling, and, when two Protestants were chosen as representatives, a report was sent up to James by the defeated party that the city officials were disloyal to him. As an outcome of this, five aldermen were seized and sent to Hull, and were kept there until after the failure of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion.

**The Charter Arrives.**—At last, in August, 1685, James II. sent down to York its new charter, in spite of his opinion that the city had "an ill repute." He took care, however, that the officials should not be hostile to him, and therefore displaced the Recorder, who was a very popular man in the city. In addition, the council had to submit to the nomination of five aldermen, friendly to the King, in place of the five who had offended him. However, the citizens forgot everything else in their delight at seeing their charter triumphantly carried into York. Five thousand horse and foot went out of the city to meet the messenger bringing it, and all the civic dignitaries stood at the gate to receive it. The people cheered

lustily as it was carried in procession to the Lord Mayor's house, and everyone gave himself up that evening to mirth and jollity.

**An Unpopular Policy.**—During the remaining years of the reign of James II., his policy towards York was, as occasion served, to give various important offices and preferments to Roman Catholics. Those of the populace who were Protestants frequently vented their feelings in disturbances. Two York aldermen were taken to London to answer to the King for a riot in which they had been concerned. When the Protestant bishops whom the King had brought to trial in London were acquitted, the York Protestants rejoiced, lighted bonfires, and damaged the windows of the Roman Catholics. The York garrison of King's soldiers thereupon went round to the houses of the Protestants whom they thought to be concerned in the matter, and broke *their* windows! Thus people acted in those days of religious intolerance.

**A City without a Garrison.**—At length William, Prince of Orange, landed in England, and his arrival made it clear that James II. had lost all hold on the affection and loyalty of the majority of his subjects. When too late, James had tried a policy of conciliation towards the Protestants, and just at that time the Governor of York, Sir John Reresby, was a Protestant. He remained loyal to the King, but could do nothing to stem the tide against him, for the city was without a garrison. The royal forces had been sent from York to Hull because it was generally expected that William would land there, seeing that he had such a strong following in Yorkshire.

**York Declares for William.**—When Lord Danby,

at the head of the Yorkshire rising, came to York, he had little difficulty in seizing the city. The majority of its inhabitants favoured William's cause, while the Governor, on his refusal to join them, was shut up in his house. Then followed the usual excesses of the populace. The windows and doors of Roman Catholic churches and chapels in the city were broken, and their ornaments and furniture damaged. Thus York declared for William, and, in a loyal petition to him, claimed to be the first town to do so of those which were not in the immediate vicinity of his army.

**A Quiet Period.**—From the time of the flight of James II. from England until long after the accession of the Hanoverian kings, York was troubled by little that is worthy of record. During the reign of Charles II. a considerable portion of the walls of York had been restored or repaired, for they were “in great decay,” and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs had been empowered by the King to levy a tax on the citizens for that purpose. In the same reign also, it is recorded that the Governor of the City “took exact care in the locking of the City and Castle gates.” But, afterwards, up to the time of the scare due to the rebellion of 1745, political affairs in England were so quiet that little care was taken of the walls. It is even related that, until they were stopped by an order of the Council, certain individuals had begun to carry off loosened stones from the walls, either to adorn their gardens or “for the erection of pigsties and other buildings !”

**An Historic Building.**—The block of buildings which is now the Wilberforce School for the Blind—so called in memory of that great statesman and philanthropist who represented the County of York in Parliament for

thirty years—was, during the reign of William and Mary, put to a somewhat novel use. For the regulation of the currency the old coinage was called in, and in a portion of what was then called the King's Manor House one of the King's Mints was erected. It is said that metal valued at nearly £400,000 passed through this Mint in the year 1696.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### “THE WHITE COCKADE” AND YORK.

**“For James or George?”**—The English Revolution, whereby James II. was driven from the throne, is one of the greatest landmarks in our history, because from that event dates the supremacy of Parliament over the King in our scheme of government. The new King, William of Orange, although a ruler of great ability, was never popular in the country, and throughout his reign a number of people remained disaffected. His successor, Anne, was viewed with more general approval, but in the later years of her reign, when the Tory leaders were in power, the prospects of the Old Pretender looked extremely rosy. When the Queen died suddenly, however, the Whigs were the more ready with their plans. George of Hanover was promptly proclaimed King in London, York, and other large towns. His accession was greeted with general, though rather lukewarm, favour, and the chief leaders of the unready Jacobites fled precipitately to the Continent. Quite smoothly, the Protestant Succession became an accomplished fact.

**Rising of “The Fifteen.”**—The attempt at Restoration, known as the “Rising of the Fifteen,” was thus belated. Further, it was engineered by men who could scarcely claim even moderate ability. Had there been a supremely able leader among the Jacobites, their success would have been assured. As it was, the rebellion proceeded in such foolish fashion that most of the English Jacobites held aloof, and were content with mere tavern-treason. At Sheriffmuir and Preston, “the Fifteen” collapsed ingloriously. The ill-fated Earl of Derwentwater, the leader of the English movement, had a residence in Micklegate, and the leading Catholic families of York were subjected at this time to very close surveillance.

**Rising of “The Forty-Five.”**—The “Attempt of the Forty-Five” was a much more formidable affair. It was conducted with great determination and ability. The Young Pretender, “Bonnie Prince Charlie,” landed in the western wilds of Scotland, and a considerable number of Highland chieftains and their clans flocked to his standard. For a time all went well with the “White Cockade.” Edinburgh was taken, and Sir John Cope, the Hanoverian leader in Scotland, was easily beaten at Prestonpans.

**The March into England.**—Then, after much foolish delay at Edinburgh, the famous march into England began. With an army of about six thousand men, the Young Chevalier penetrated, by way of Penrith, Kendal, Lancaster, Preston, and Macclesfield, as far as Derby. As the daring design progressed, apathy was succeeded by increasing consternation. London, the objective of the expedition, was thrown into incredible panic. The day on which the news came of the arrival

at Derby was long known as "Black Friday." There was a rush on the Bank of England, shops were shut, and business was at a standstill.

**The Feeling in York.**—A very accurate notion of the feeling in York during these events can be obtained from the "Hardwick Papers," now in the British Museum. The Archbishop of York of that day, Thomas Herring, took a strong lead in organizing resistance to the invader, and his letters to the Chancellor, Lord Hardwick, give a very vivid picture of the varied emotions and opinions current during the crisis. They show distinctly the prevailing apathy and incredulity in the earliest stages of "the Forty-Five," the general discontent with the Administration, and the lively alarm that was rife during the Pretender's wonderful march to the Midlands.

**Archbishop Herring.**—At the very outset of the affair, we find the Northern Prelate protesting against the careless attitude of "the king's friends." "These represent the affair as dwindling, and the rebels as a despicable rabble, to be crushed with all the ease of the world. It is the duty of everybody not to scatter terrors; but when there is a strange lethargy and deadness, and the spirit of the nation wants to be roused and animated, opiates should not be administered to them."

**General Oglethorpe.**—"General Oglethorpe is here, and has persuaded thirty or forty young gentlemen volunteers to follow him. They are to rendezvous at Knavesmire on Monday morning, have a ball at night, and march on Tuesday morning. We must leave it to the General to say whether a ball will inspire or enfeeble his myrmidons. Nothing was ever better

done than sending Oglethorpe hither. He captivates the young fellows and the populace, and was received at his return from Knavesmire the other night with most prodigious acclamation.”

**Prestonpans.**—The reflections of the Archbishop on the battle of Prestonpans are interesting :—“ The affair of Gledsmuir was a terrible one. As to the discipline and excellent manœuvres of the rebels, don’t let your people be too much alarmed with it. ’Tis cried up by one set of people to excuse their own shameful behaviour ; by another, to strike terror, and excite, if possible, a general panic. ’Tis much exaggerated by both, but it will not be prudent or excusable to attempt to crush the rebels by small bodies. The doctrine I have preached, and still inculcate, is to use our whole strength.”

**The York Loyalists.**—Largely through Archbishop Herring’s efforts, on the 24th September, 1745, an important county meeting was held at York Castle, and measures of defence were considered. It was at this time thought probable that the Pretender might invade England by the eastern route. A sum of over £31,000 was subscribed by the nobility, gentry, and clergy that attended, of which York’s quota was nearly £2,500. In the city, also, four companies of volunteers were enrolled, and designated the “ Yorkshire Blues.” York began to be thoroughly alarmed. “ God grant that I may feed my swans in peace ! ” writes the Archbishop.

**Two York Jacobites.**—Many suspected York citizens began to be subjected to espionage. “ A fellow in York, Dr. Drake, a surgeon, and long suspected to be a Jacobite, has declared himself so by publicly refusing to take the oaths.” This gentleman, who was the celebrated



historian of York, in consequence lost his post as city surgeon. Another York physician named Burton (the "Dr. Slop" of *Tristram Shandy*) was put into prison for fourteen months for alleged Jacobitism. "His character was of the worst sort as regards affection to the government; his conduct full of dark and contradictory passages." There is no doubt that many treasonable news-letters and newspapers circulated in and around York.

**"Bonnie Prince Charlie."**—Two contemporary accounts of the Young Chevalier may, at this stage, be inserted. Archbishop Herring writes:—"I am told that he is of undoubted courage and resolution, and determined to conquer or to die, as he has publicly professed. His presence is good, and he affects a winning affability, conversing almost with the lowest now and then." Volunteer Ray of Cumberland, a Hanoverian spy, gives the following striking picture:—"His dress is a Highland garb of fine silk tartan, red velvet breeches, and a blue velvet bonnet with gold lace on it; on his breast a large jewel with St. Andrew is appended; he is about six feet high; he walks well and straight; he speaks both English and broad Scotch very well. He affects to imitate the example of Charles XII. of Sweden, marching all day on foot. He is the first man to leap into rivers; he dines with his soldiers in the open field; he sleeps on the ground wrapped in his plaid."

**Arms and Alarms.**—Meanwhile the stout-hearted Archbishop continued his work of rousing the government and the people. "What! no news of arms yet? Have we deserved this neglect? Are the ministers asleep? Your lordship cannot imagine how shamed

and vexed we are that our men are forced to exercise with broom-staffs.” “ York is in no sort of condition to make any resistance . . . Had I my royal master’s ear, I should think it the duty of an honest man and good subject to tell him that his crown was in danger of being shaken. As to my own safety, I will stay till the last moment, but I know of no duty that obliges me to run the hazard of being knocked on the head or taken prisoner. I shall stand ready to escape at half-an-hour’s warning. I have taken the best method I could think of to persuade the Lord Mayor, if he can’t stand it out, to fly, rather than submit to proclaim the Pretender.”

**Further Archiepiscopal Comments.**—The Archbishop inveighs bitterly against the Dutch mercenaries that passed through York to join General Wade. “ The people below-stairs speak of them broadly as a dead weight upon our army, and a set of slothful, dirty, dastardly, pilfering fellows. England can never be properly defended but by Englishmen.” He is not afraid of denouncing abuses in connection with the army supplies, but is equally ready to award a meed of praise if deserved. “ This gentleman told me that the nobleness of the king to the poor soldiers in the shoes and stockings had been most wickedly abused, insomuch that neither of them, through the villainous job of the contractors, would last the soldiers above a day, which in the worst weather and marches used to hold out a fortnight. The flannel from the Quakers is excellent.” The general unrest may be inferred from the following extract :—“ Our castle is full of prisoners, and of so low and dirty a sort, that when the wind sets fair, I can almost fancy that I smell them, as they do the hops at

a distillery. They are so many that people begin to be apprehensive of them."

**The English Aloofness.**—Despite all the efforts of Prince Charlie and his captains, his triumphant progress to Derby was unattended by any great accession of strength from the English Jacobites. There was much truth in the bitter remarks of the Duke of Perth at one of his Councils of War—"There is little dependence on the promise of English malcontents, whose zeal for your royal house these fifty years past has manifested itself in nothing else but womanish railing, vain boasting, and noisy gasconades; their affection for you is most elevated when in their cups; and their sense of loyalty only conspicuous in the absence of their reason; warmed with wine and a tavern fire, they are champions in your cause; but when cool, their courage and zeal, sir, for you and yours evaporate with the fumes of the wine."

**From Derby to Culloden.**—At Derby, largely owing to the aloofness of the English Jacobites, it was decided to abandon the splendid design of marching on London. To the great distress of the Prince his council decided on retreat.

The withdrawal was conducted with conspicuous military ability, and Scotland was safely reached by the greater part of the invaders. There, a flash of hope again illumined the cause through a victory gained over General Hawley at Falkirk. It was very short-lived. At Culloden Moor, near Inverness, the Duke of Cumberland with an efficient and well-equipped army, brought the Jacobites to bay. Prince Charles's force was weakened by desertions; its strength was sapped by hunger, fatigue, jealousy, and despair. Cumberland

gained a comparatively easy victory, and the vanquished were hunted and harried down with ruthless severity. After three months' romantic wanderings, the "Hero of the Forty-Five" escaped safely to France.

**York after Culloden.**—On the Duke of Cumberland's return from the devastation of Scotland, he halted at York to receive the freedom of the city, which was presented to him in a gold box. A few months later, numerous Jacobite prisoners of less note were tried and sentenced at York. No fewer than twenty-two of these suffered the death penalty at the York "Tyburn" on Knavesmire; some were sent to the "Plantations"; others were pardoned. The heads of two of the most hardened offenders were spiked on high poles, and exposed on Micklegate Bar, this being the last occasion on which the barbarous practice was resorted to in York. Seven years later the ghastly relics were stolen by a York tailor, named William Arundel, who suffered fine and imprisonment for his humanity.

**"The Limbo of Lost Causes."**—Gone beyond recall are the days when men's eyes sparkled as they saw a white flower blooming on a "bonnie brier bush."

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### YORK IN THE COACHING DAYS

**Stage Coaches.**—In the year 1837, when Queen Victoria came to the throne, there might have been seen in York, almost every evening during fine weather, a crowd of lads and gossips sitting or leaning on Ouse

Bridge. They were waiting for the stage coach which used to "perform the journey from London to York in twenty hours," if the weather was favourable. So fast did this seem to the people of that day that they spoke of the stage-coaches as "flying machines." And truly, for horses, this was a great rate, for it meant a speed of nearly ten miles per hour throughout the journey. When the coach came in sight, the crowd set up loud

*Photo by]*

THE OLD OUSE BRIDGE.

*[W. Watson.*

cheers and followed it as it swept over the bridge and rattled down the cobble-paved road. Then, with a glorious jingling of harness and the sound of the horn, it swung round the sharp corner into Spurriergate, and drew up before the Black Swan Inn in Coney Street. From it descended "gentlemen in high white chokers and ladies in huge poke bonnets," while the driver got down from his perch and flung a witticism at the admiring group of stable-boys and loafers.

**Coaching at its Best.**—The fifty years preceding Queen Victoria's reign may be called the most glorious era of the coaching days. Then were the times of the turnpike roads with their toll-bars and querulous toll-keepers—the days of the famous coaches “Tally-ho,” “Highflyer,” and “Wellington,” and of their still more famous drivers. The roads had been made good, the horses were the best to be procured, and there were frequent relays so that the teams might be changed. The journey between London and York, which under the best conditions in 1706 took four days, was now accomplished in one.

**Last of the Mail-Coaches.**—Yet, soon after Queen Victoria began to reign, the York coaches had to give place to the steam locomotive, and one day in 1842 the famous York mail-coach from London came to the city for the last time. The occasion was almost historic. As the coach passed Escrick, it was joined by a guard of honour composed of the “private drags” of several noblemen. Then, with a peer of the realm on the box, and a black flag hoisted above its roof, it entered the city, and finally drew up at York Tavern, now called Harker's Hotel. Its career as bearer of the royal mail had ended.

**The Coming of the Railways.**—The more prosaic age of the locomotive commenced in earnest for York in 1840, when—although there had been a line made to Copmanthorpe a year or two earlier—the city was for the first time joined by rail to the capital.

A famous York man in those days was Mr. Hudson, who was known as the “Railway King.” He became chairman of the York and North Midland Railway Company, and to his initiative the first railway



to York was due. The original station was inside the city, on the site where the old railway offices are now, and an archway was made in the walls through which the trains might run.

**Reminiscences of a Great-Grandfather.**—It is interesting to contrast with the life in the city as we know it now the life of the people of York at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, when the city was still in the coaching days. There are still a few very old men who can recall those times, and to whose reminiscences it is most fascinating to listen. They can remember, as boys, seeing the coach with its "four spanking bays" come rattling into the city from the South over Ouse Bridge, and they have heard the Newcastle mail as it went out in the early dawn through Bootham Bar, bound for the North. They can remember the time when the cruel sport of cock-fighting was still to be witnessed in York, and when men could sit drinking in public-houses while divine service was going on in the churches and chapels. Happily, the laws against these evils are now strictly enforced.

**1837.**—When Queen Victoria ascended the throne, there was only one bridge over the Ouse, namely the one we have mentioned in this chapter. As feeble substitutes for bridges there were public ferry boats, which plied across the river, notably at the place where Lendal Bridge is now. The authorities were, however, beginning to think more of the convenience and needs of the people, for they made an archway in the walls (which obtained the misleading name of Victoria Bar), on the Scarcroft side of the city, so that dwellers in the Nunnery Lane district might have an entrance nearer than Micklegate Bar. The year



1837 also saw the building of the public baths of St. Mary's, which the city no doubt looked upon as a highly enlightened proceeding—as indeed it was. But when we think of the splendid baths of the days of Eburacum, the contrast in such matters surely appears all in favour of the Romans.

**Streets.**—The streets of York in the days of our great-grandfathers apparently left a good deal to be desired. They were not well lighted; for, besides the fact that gas as an illuminant had not attained a very high state of perfection, York had another difficulty to contend with. It had two gas companies under circumstances in which one would have been better, for they seem to have spoiled each other's utility in a rather ingenious way. The repairing and draining of the roads were frequently left to public subscription, so doubtless nothing would be done until an evil became an intolerable public nuisance. The guardians of the streets were different from the modern policemen. Their duties were vague, and their supervision was quite perfunctory. As they were, moreover, few in number, their work was done very badly, and quite in contrast to the careful and minute patrolling of the present day. But the constabulary was in its infancy, for the early Victorian days saw its commencement in York. Before that time the old decrepit night watchmen did duty, and amongst the Council's expenses was the annual charge for "rattles," with which the "guardians" of the streets signalled for assistance.



A NIGHT  
WATCHMAN.

*Before the Days of the  
Police Constable.*

**The Assizes.**—In coaching days, the coming of the Judges of Assize to the city was a much greater event than it is now; for they had to come by road. The sheriff and his attendants used to meet them, and in solemn and imposing procession conduct them to their lodgings. The results of their stay in York were fear-inspiring to the lawless of the whole county. The ghastly practice of executing the condemned in public was then in force, and hundreds of morbidly-minded people would assemble in St. George's Fields to see a poor wretch hanged outside the castle wall. Such degrading exhibitions are now no longer possible.

**Old-Time Elections.**—Perhaps nothing in the early Victorian days furnishes a greater contrast to our present procedure than does the old-time method of conducting Parliamentary elections. Soon after the accession of Queen Victoria York was in the turmoil of one of these great and noisy events.

**Hustings.**—In St. Sampson's Square, a sort of high platform had been raised, called the "hustings," which was reached by a flight of wooden steps. On the platform were the Lord Mayor and his officers (including the "bellman"), together with the candidates and their chief supporters. In front of the "hustings" was a throng of people, chiefly non-voters, from whom came such a storm of shoutings, cheerings, boo-ings and groanings, as might have served as an illustration of pandemonium let loose. Then the Lord Mayor ordered the bellman to ring his bell that he might have a sufficiently quiet interval in which to inform the people that "nominations" were about to be made. But he was a fortunate man if he succeeded in making any one hear him.

**Nominations—" Buffs and Blues."**—Then Mr. Lowther's chief supporter stepped to the front and proposed Mr. Lowther as a fit and proper person to represent the City of York in Parliament; he was followed by his seconder, who spoke to the same effect. Mr. Lowther was standing in the Tory interest, and his party wore "buff" favours. The Whig partisans wore "blue" colours. All the time the nomination of Mr. Lowther was being made, the "buffs" cheered, while the "blues" groaned so long and so loudly that both his proposer and seconder "might have sung comic songs in lieu of speaking without anybody's being a bit the wiser." Then came the nomination of Mr. Dundas, who was a Whig, and, in consequence, the vocal performances of the two parties in the crowd were reversed, but the effect was similar. Finally, Mr. Atcherley was nominated, and his name met with the same mixed reception as that of the two others, many of both parties being evidently against him. The attempts of the candidates to address the crowd then followed, but what with one party shouting to the others to give their man a hearing, and their opponents continually interrupting in order that he might *not* be heard, the speeches were practically failures. All three candidates, however much they differed on other matters, were obviously agreed, when their words could be distinguished, that the freemen of York were the most noble-minded and intelligent men in England! Then the Mayor called for a show of hands. At Mr. Lowther's name there was a forest of hands from the "buffs," and boo-ings from the "blues," while at Mr. Dundas's name the "buffs" booed, and the "blues" put up their

hands. Mr. Atcherley, when his turn came, secured manifestly fewer votes and more boo-ings than either of the other two. The Lord Mayor thereupon announced that Mr. Lowther and Mr. Dundas had been elected to represent York in Parliament. But, as was nearly always the case, the candidate not chosen challenged the voting and demanded a "poll," and so a poll there had to be. Then a day was fixed and the crowd went off noisily in party processions.

**Polling Day.**—When the polling day came, the row in the city was worse than ever. No form of bribery and corruption was absent. Each voter had to go up on to the hustings and announce publicly for whom he desired to vote. There was thus every chance for intimidation. Committeemen leading parties to the poll had to run the gauntlet of bodies of the opposite persuasion, and frequently free fights occurred. Drunkenness was rife everywhere, for the publicans were in the pay of one or other of the candidates. No means seemed too low for the opposing parties to adopt, either to prevent electors voting against them, or to get electors to vote for them.

**Improved System.**—Such were the elections of the coaching days, and such they continued to be until the passing of the Ballot Act and the Corrupt Practices Act rendered bribery of doubtful value, and the risk of detection a grave matter.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

## YORK—A COUNTY BOROUGH.

**Self Governing.**—The Imperial Parliament which sits at Westminster does not now concern itself much with matters which do not affect the country or the nation at large. Local affairs are left to the care of the various county or other district authorities, while certain towns are honoured by being considered independent units in themselves. York possesses this privilege, and its civic authorities have, within reasonable limits, perfect freedom to manage the affairs of the city, without any interference at all from the central government.

**Incorporated by Charter.**—York belongs to that class of towns called “boroughs.” At some period of the history of such towns their inhabitants have been incorporated by charter. A town is usually said to become incorporated when the reigning sovereign, by charter, grants privileges to the inhabitants as a body. It is in virtue of its charter that a town has, within the limits of the charter’s provisions, the right to govern itself.

**A Very Ancient Borough.**—York is a very ancient borough. Its charters date back at least as far as the reign of Henry I., who was the ruler of this country over eight centuries ago. More than fifty of these charters are still extant at York. The city has always been one of the most privileged of English towns, and for many centuries its inhabitants have been locally independent.

**Additional Dignity.**—York has a further cause for congratulation. It is a “city.” This title is usually reserved for those boroughs which possess cathedrals, or have large populations, and York, with its splendid Minster, has a claim amongst the first to this additional dignity. Although York does not, through being a city, obtain any further rights or powers, yet there is a corresponding increase in its rank and dignity amongst the boroughs. Again, each of its inhabitants who occupies a house, warehouse, shop, or other building within the borough, and resides within seven miles of the borough, is called a “citizen,” while the inhabitants fulfilling similar conditions in an ordinary borough are called “burgesses.”

**Freemen.**—There is also included among the York citizens a privileged class called “freemen,” who formerly had many rights beyond those of ordinary citizens. Some of these rights still remain, especially those concerning the “strays” of the city. The sons of freemen become, in turn, entitled to be freemen on arriving at the age of twenty-one years, and apprentices to freemen also become freemen, after completing an apprenticeship of seven years. At the present day their privileges, in addition to those of the ordinary citizen, permit them to vote for members of Parliament for the city, even though they are not householders; they may also feed a limited number of cattle at a fixed and comparatively small rate on the “strays” of the city, or, in lieu of this, they may claim a share in the profits. A recent Act of Parliament (1885) has authorized Corporations to confer upon distinguished persons the “honorary” freedom of their cities. This is a valued title, especially in the case of a city like York, but

the possession of this title carries with it none of the privileges of an ordinary freeman.

**Uniform Borough Constitutions.**—For centuries prior to 1835, the affairs of the city were managed by a Mayor and Corporation. In the reign of Richard II., the title of “ Lord ” was conferred by His Majesty upon the Mayor, who from that time has been styled the “ Lord Mayor.” But in 1835 the Imperial Parliament passed a general Act, called the Municipal Corporation Act, for the better government, on uniform lines, of all the boroughs in England; and, in consequence, the governing body for York has since been styled “ the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the City of York.” Usually, however, we use the shorter phrase—“ Lord Mayor and Council,” or “ Lord Mayor and Corporation.”

**A Dignified Procession.**—It is a most interesting sight to watch the representatives of the citizens of York walking in solemn and dignified procession on important civic occasions. The order of procedure is not always the same, for sometimes the Lord Mayor brings up the rear of the procession and sometimes he leads it, but in any case, unless the King himself is present, the Lord Mayor is the most important personage, and wherever he may be, that is supposed to be the most honourable position for the time being.

**The Lord Mayor.**—We can easily recognize the Lord Mayor; for immediately in front of him walk two officials, one carrying the sword of state with the point upwards, and the other carrying the city mace. The Lord Mayor wears on these great occasions a crimson gown, trimmed with ermine, as well as a massive gold chain with a triple row of links. As a sign of



the high dignity of the Lord Mayor's office, and of his rank as the first citizen of York, the sword is never carried before him with the point lowered unless the King himself is present. Save for this one exception, the symbols of his high office remain unaltered, no matter how noble may be the birth or rank of the persons taking part in the procession.

**Curious City Insignia.**—York possesses two swords of state, a city mace, and a curiously-shaped velvet cap called the "cap of maintenance" and worn by the sword-bearer. These are amongst the most cherished symbols of the city's dignity. In the reign of Richard II., there was a plague in London, and for a few months the King and Court removed to York, which on that occasion received most exceptional marks of royal favour. The carrying of sword, mace, and cap of maintenance dates from that time, although the insignia we now see carried in procession are not the originals, which unfortunately disappeared long ago. A curious fact about the cap of maintenance is that, even in the presence of the King, the Lord Mayor's sword-bearer has the right to wear it and to keep his head covered. A window (No. 7) in the Guildhall shows Richard II. presenting his own sword to the first Lord Mayor of York.

**"The Old Order Changeth."**—Anciently the Mayor was chosen by the whole body of citizens gathered together in a large assembly. The occasion was often marked by tumults, party strife, and even bloodshed. The system was, wisely, discontinued in the reign of Henry VIII., and a more orderly and dignified procedure was substituted. This again was altered by the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835. This Act,

by providing a model constitution, has caused the disappearance of many old-time York procedures and customs.

**Two High Dignitaries.**—Next in order of precedence to the Lord Mayor in the civic processions come the Recorder and the Sheriff, the latter wearing a massive gold chain of office. These are not now members of the Council, and have no vote at its meetings, but nevertheless they have an important work. The Recorder used to be the expounder of the laws and the Corporation's highest legal adviser, and even now he is a Judge and a Justice of the Peace. On great occasions, such as visits of royalty, it is through him that the addresses of the citizens are presented. The Sheriff is the representative of the King in the execution of the law in York, and in this capacity he attends the Judges at York Assizes.

**An Ancient and Noble Title.**—After the Sheriff come the twelve Aldermen, who wear gowns exactly like that of the Lord Mayor. "Alderman" is a Saxon title, which had, before the Norman Conquest, a very high dignity. At the Conquest, when the Saxon order was displaced by the Norman, the title seems to have been dropped, and was only revived much later on by the City Councils. Boroughs have Aldermen to the number of one-third that of Councillors, by whom they are elected for a term of six years. One half of them go out of office each third year. They thus hold office twice as long as an ordinary Councillor, but they have otherwise no special rights and privileges if we except the higher rank which their added dignity confers on them.

**Municipal Elections.**—For some little time before

November 1 in each year, York becomes mildly excited over the question of selecting representative Councillors, for one-third of them must retire and their places be filled by election. York is divided into six wards or divisions called respectively Bootham, Castle-gate, Guildhall, Micklegate, Monk, and Walmgate, and



THE COUNCIL CHAMBER IN THE GUILDHALL (FACING THE LORD MAYOR'S SEAT.)

each ward chooses two members of the Council each year to fill the places of those retiring.

**A Representative Council.**—Thus the Council is composed of a Lord Mayor elected by the Aldermen and Councillors, twelve Aldermen elected by the Councillors, and thirty-six Councillors who have, in turn, been elected by the citizens. The Lord Mayor is the

Chairman of this Council, and the interests of the city are entrusted to their hands for the coming year by the citizens whom, directly or indirectly, they represent.

**Division of Labour.**—The functions and duties of the Council are very numerous and important, and it would be impossible for the Council as a body to discharge them all. Consequently, special arrangements are made to deal with them. The Council divides itself into Committees, each of which concerns itself more particularly with some special branch of the city's affairs. There are numerous Committees of this kind, and, by such division of labour, the Council is enabled more easily to get through the enormous amount of work which the government of our city entails. The Watch Committee, which looks to the conduct and safety of the city, and the Education Committee are perhaps most before the public eye, but there are, of course, many others equally important, among which we may mention those which deal with the health of the inhabitants and with the paving, lighting, draining, and cleansing of the city. Then there are also the markets, the Corporation properties, the free libraries, the rivers, and the finances, to each of which the attention of a special Committee is devoted.

**The Executive.**—In order that the Council may always have at hand an adviser with whom they may consult on the legal aspect of a question, a Town Clerk is appointed. It is through him that the resolutions of the Council are carried into effect, and he acts as secretary at their meetings. He transmits their orders and wishes to the various departments, so that he may be called their general executive officer. Some

idea of the number of the departments necessary for dealing with the many different aspects of public city life may be gathered from the work of the Committees to which reference has been made. Each of these departments has its own special staff of head and assistant officials, so that the total number in the employ of the Corporation becomes very great.

**A Citizen's Duty.**—Now, citizens should remember that the government of the city cannot be good unless they choose their representatives on the Council with judgment and discretion. Each citizen elector, therefore, should take a practical interest in the affairs of his city, so that he may be able to consider rightly the claims of his proposed representatives. He should beware of treating his great electoral responsibility with indifference, because the welfare and prosperity of the city depends to a large extent on the prudence and good policy of its ruling body, which he and his fellow-citizens have the privilege of electing. Unless he thinks carefully about the public questions of the day affecting the city community, how can he exercise his voting privilege properly? Further, it is the purses of the citizens which form the city's exchequer. By means of rates, the Council demands from each citizen his share of the city's expenses. It is clearly, then, his duty, and it is certainly to his interest, to watch over the city's finances carefully, so that there shall be no needless expense or waste. Finally, each citizen should bear in mind that he is a member of a self-governing community, that all its laws and regulations have been made by representatives of that community for the general good of the individuals composing it, and that it behoves every one to obey

and support, to the best of his ability, these self-imposed laws and regulations. Therein lies true liberty, and freedom for all.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### YORK MINSTER.

**The First Eoferwik Church of the Angles.**—The history of this splendid cathedral may, perhaps, be said to begin with that little wooden church, which has already been mentioned as the scene of the baptism of King Edwin in A.D. 627. The bigger stone church, which this Christian king of the Angles began to build round the wooden one, was left to his successors to finish, for the royal convert was soon afterwards slain in battle. Of this, the first English stone church in York, practically nothing whatever remains, except, perhaps, in the vault-like chambers forming the crypt under the Minster. Here the supposed site of Edwin's baptismal ceremony is still pointed out to the visitor.

**The First Archbishop.**—The Roman priest, Paulinus, who baptized Edwin, was really the first Archbishop, although he had left Eoferwik for ever before the documents formally appointing him arrived from the Pope.

**Destructive and Godless Times in York.**—In the eighth century, the stone church of the Angles suffered so severely from a great fire, that it had to be practically re-built, and, not long after this, the church fell on evil times. The rough, rude Danes had little respect

for it, and the violent struggles in Jorvik, in which Danes, English, and Normans were concerned, must have meant great uproar and destruction. We do not wonder, therefore, that when the first Norman Archbishop was appointed, he built an almost entirely new church on the site of the old one, which no doubt had been greatly damaged.

**General Plan.**—The new church was, like the present Minster, built on foundations dug in the shape of a cross. We may, therefore, speak of the structure of the new Norman church (and also of that of the present Minster) most simply as parts of a cross. One portion of the centre-piece pointed towards the East. It consisted almost entirely of the old restored stone church of the Angles. This part contained the altar at its east end, and was, from this time, called the “choir.” The other portion of the centre-piece was called the “nave,” and the side passages up the centre-piece were called the “aisles.” Thus, both the nave and the choir had north and south aisles. The parts of the church which corresponded to the arms of the cross were called “transepts,” and thus this Norman church was of a form similar to the Minster of the present day. We have the choir to the east, the nave to the west, and also north and south transepts going crosswise. The octagonal building which we notice, joined on to the Minster, is the Chapter House.

**Saint William.**—About the beginning of the thirteenth century, York awoke to the fact that it had no patron saint. The Minster did not contain the remains of any specially holy man, whose fame might bring wealthy and pious pilgrims to visit his bones. Thus a source of glory and riches was wanting. So



the late Archbishop William, who had just been buried in the nave, was now canonized by the Pope, and became "Saint William." Paulinus would, no doubt, have been selected, but, unfortunately for this purpose, his bones were at Rochester. St. William's College, close to the Minster, is named after this saint.

**A Succession of Churches.**—We can say that from very early times there has been a church on the site of the present Minster, yet it has by no means been always the same church. Each successive building has contained sometimes a good deal, and sometimes very little of its predecessor, and there have been many re-buildings, additions, and repairings since the time of the Norman church we have mentioned. The building on this site has been either wholly or partly burnt down on at least five different occasions! Even within the last century, the building has twice suffered severely from fire, which, on the former of these occasions, was kindled by a lunatic, named Jonathan Martin.

**Stonegate.**—It is evident that, for many ages, from one cause or another, much building has been done on the site whereon the present York Minster stands. All the necessary stone had to be brought to York by water, and it was unloaded at the cellar-landing beneath the Guildhall. Waggon and carts conveyed it from there straight to the Minster, hence the name of "Stonegate." The Minster is built of magnesian limestone, which was obtained from near Tadcaster.

**Minster Workmen.**—In the Minster records we find that the authorities of the Minster, called the "Chapter," employed a large body of workmen. These were continuously engaged on the huge building, and we see constant repairs going on now. The same

families were often employed from generation to generation to do this work.

**An Appearance of Unity.**—The Minster of the present day is one of the largest and most impressive of our cathedrals. It looks complete and unified. It seems as if it had been all designed at one time, yet it is composed of parts built at different periods. We know this from its history, but we could also infer it from an examination of the different styles of its architecture, for the builders of different periods had different views as to what constituted “the beautiful.”

**Three Chief Kinds of Architecture.**—If we except the crypt, then the transepts are the oldest parts of the present Minster. The windows are lancet-shaped and plain. They belong to what is called the “Early English” period. The present nave was completed by the middle of the fourteenth century, but the body of the nave is older than its west front, which, again, is older than its vaultings, or roof. The windows of its aisles belong, therefore, to a later date than the Early English period, and the heads of the windows show a simple circular form of decoration. This indicates that they were made when men began to ornament the heads of the windows with geometrical figures and curves, which obtained the name of “Decorated” style. The great west window is the best example of this, for the ornamentation there is much more intricate and varied. Then we can also find in the Minster another and still later kind of window, and a very casual examination will tell us why this is called the “Perpendicular” style. We should notice these things as we go through the Minster; for of course no one should be content simply to read about it, and indeed



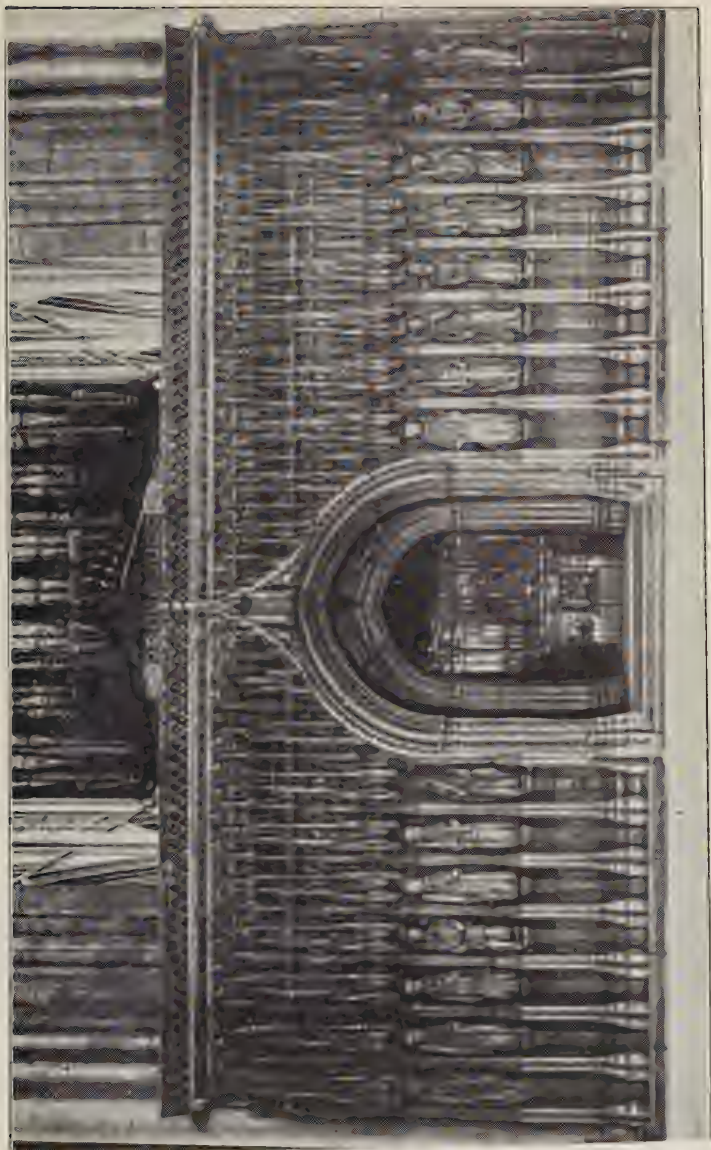
THE WEST FRONT OF THE MINSTER, SHOWING THE GREAT  
WEST WINDOW, ONE OF THE FINEST EXAMPLES OF  
THE "DECORATED" STYLE.

this chapter can only include a mention of some of its most celebrated features. To understand where they are, we should keep the idea of the cross-like shape in our minds.



THE WATER-AVENS. THE "BLESSED HERB" OF  
MEDIÆVAL TIMES.

**The Blessed Herb.**—Another interesting fact we may also remember at our visit. There is a plant called



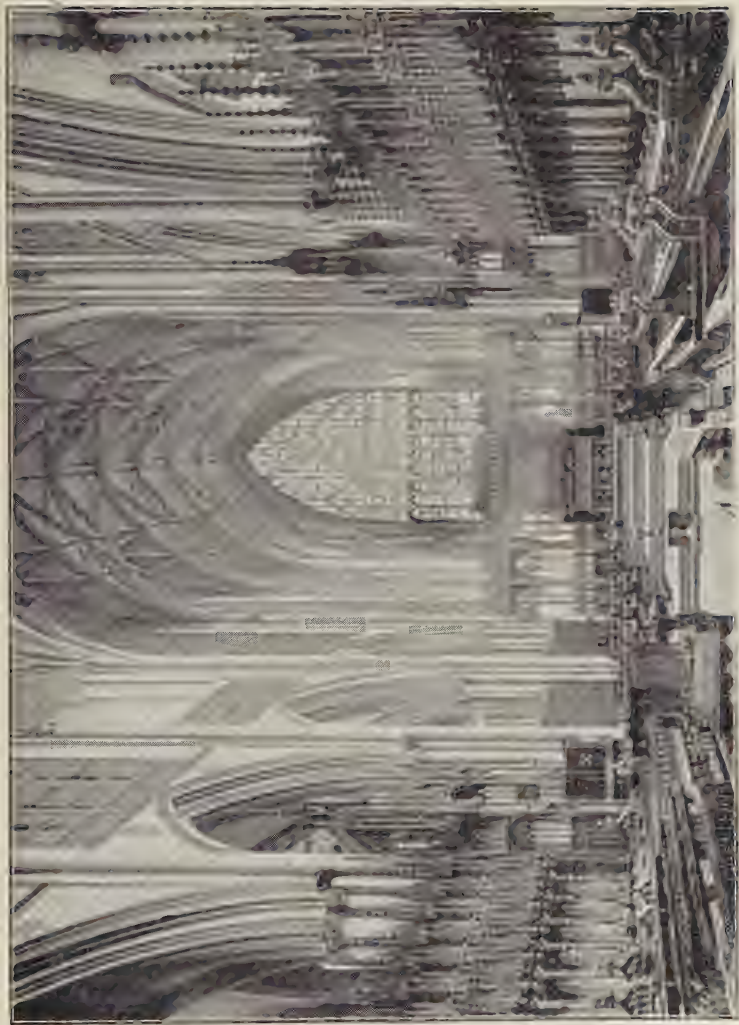
THE WONDERFUL STONE CHOIR SCREEN.

the Water-Avens, which in summer bears drooping flowers of a purple tint. Its hairy leaves have a large terminal segment coarsely lobed, or sometimes divided into three, and there are also a few very small segments lower down the stalk. It is usually found in marshes and wet ditches. In olden times this plant was thought to have such great spiritual and medicinal virtues that it was called "*Herba Benedicta*," or the blessed herb. Somehow or other the Wood-Avens has this title now, although we see that it really belongs to its sister plant. The old writers used to say of the Water-Avens—"Where the root is in the house the devil can do nothing and flies from it, wherefore it is blessed above all other herbs." We do not wonder, therefore, that many a piece of ornamentation in the Minster has been designed from its leaf, and, if we are familiar with its form, we may recognize some of the more obvious examples.

**The Nave.**—Suppose we continue our observation at the west door, that is, in the nave—the western shank of the central piece of the cross. In the north aisle is an interesting window, the second from the west, portraying scenes from a priest's life. We see him teaching, giving absolution, and inflicting punishment. Look at the instrument in his right hand!

**The Choir.**—The eastern limb of the centre-piece of our imaginary cross is the choir. It is separated from the nave by a wonderful stone screen, in the niches of which are figures representing the Kings of England from William the Conqueror to Henry VI. We can see, through the gates, the splendid great east window above the altar. This window depicts scenes from the Creation to the death of Absalom, and also





THE CHOIR, SHOWING THE GREAT EAST WINDOW. THE SITE OF THE FIRST  
CHURCH OF THE ANGLES.



from the Book of Revelation. It is the largest window that retains its original glazing, which is now over five hundred years old! John Thornton, of Coventry (then world-famed for its stained glass), did the work. He received four shillings per week, plus five pounds per year, plus ten pounds when he had completed it, which he bargained to do in three years. Not very great pay, we think, even though we remember that money then had a higher purchasing power than it has now.

**The Transepts.**—Keeping the form of the cross in our minds to be sure of our direction, we go forward, and, turning to the left, we stand in the north transept. Here is a wonderful window called the “Five Sisters’ Window,” because it is related that its design was first worked on tapestry by five sisters. This is such a pretty story, and seems so exactly to fit the case, that it is a pity there is little evidence to prove its truth. Right opposite to the place where we now are is the other arm of the cross, the south transept, the oldest part of the Minster except the crypt.

**Well Worth Our Care.**—As we leave this glorious building we do not wonder that Englishmen were, and are, so proud of it. Even in the madness of the wild fighting during the most terrible days of the siege of York in 1644, the gunners were forbidden to aim at it. The oldest York citizen has never heard of a time when workmen were not continuously repairing, restoring, and renewing the fabric of this splendid monument of Christianity, which well deserves such careful preservation.

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